

# INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

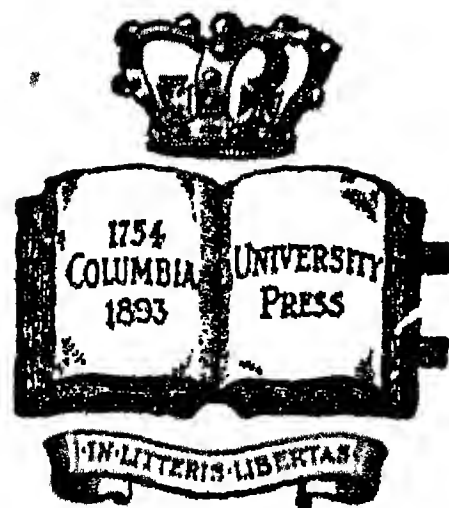
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

## MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

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SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES  
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS  
66 FIFTH AVENUE

1902

P1-16:1

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2239<sup>e</sup>

PRINTED AT OXFORD  
ENGLAND  
BY HORACE HART, M.A.  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

• TO  
MY FATHER

AND TO  
THE MEMORY OF  
MY MOTHER

# INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

*A priori* we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pali*



and *New Persian Phonology*, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-243), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Māzandarānī in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, ܐܪܟܢܐ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, باند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Paštō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Īrānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Īrānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Ann., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varaša* : Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gr̥ha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-ēr-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Ans.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit *kar' ḗξοχῆν*, with Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi (also called Ārṣa and Jaina Prākrit), and Śaurasēnī, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍēya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍēya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāśāci. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prākṛits or literary dialects of the period. Pāisācī together with Cūlikāpāisācī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prākṛit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prākṛit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prākṛit (or Apabhraṃśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvīra and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṃśas or folk-dialects of the Prākṛits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śāurasēnī-Apabhraṃśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṃśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṃśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sinhalese and Māladive is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kaśmīrī, Uriyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Siṃhalese and its older form Elu, Māladive, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemann, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūčī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Waxī, Šiynī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājikī, Sanglicī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbi (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lahijānī, Gilakī, Tališī, and Tat (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Širāzī, Bahbahānī, Sivēndī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kašahī, Vōnišūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, Natanzī, and Kašānī (Geiger, 381-388). The Afyān



dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūcī, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrānī), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūcī literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrānī is the more primitive speech. North Balūcī is divided into Layārī in the North and Marrī in the South, while Southern Balūcī comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūrī, Kirmānšāhī, Gūrānī, Mukrī, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249-252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix-xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11-12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417-423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109-115, 209-213, 230-234, 241-248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from foot-notes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877–1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell<sup>2</sup>, London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae praepraeiticae*, Bonn, 1837; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311–332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1–48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākṛit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e.g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhī I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pālī the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pālī-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudīan Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kaśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxv. 280-305, lxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Siṃhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 58-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavī I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-ī Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pāmīr, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyān, Balūcī, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyān, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštō*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balūcī, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian: *m̐* instead of *ṃ*, *ṣ̐* instead of *ṣ*, and *ṣ̐* for *ṣ*, also *r̐*, *rh̐*, *l̐* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ē*, *ō* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhī I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *g̐*, *j̐*, *ḍ̐*, *b̐*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Sinhalese, *ā*, *ā̄* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *ṁ*, *ṇ* by *m*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afyān *a* I write *a*, in Balūcī *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūcī *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k'*, *č'*, *t'*, *p'*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *ǰ* instead of Hübschmann's *ā*, *ī*, *tš*, *thš*, *dž*, *ts*, *ths*, *dz*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic *ἐγών*: Boeotian *ἰών*; Attic *ὀλίγος*: Tarentine *ὀλῖος*; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiuvinur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see



§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ēkam apy akṣaram yas tu guruh śiṣyē niveḍayēt  
prthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nṛṇi bhavēt.*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṃśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāis.	= Pāisācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōšānī.
GAv.	= Gāθā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gīl.	= Gīlakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglīcī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śaur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Śiyn.	= Śiynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Simh.	= Simhalese.
Kāš.	= Kāšānī.	Šīr.	= Šīrāzī.
Kāsm.	= Kāsmīrī.	Sīv.	= Sīvēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Ur.	= Uṛiyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōništūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yayn.	= Yaynōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrabī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

\* = hypothetical forms.

&gt; = becomes.

&lt; = derived from.

The titles of Magazines are abbreviated according to the system of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*.

# INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

## VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *ɾ*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ǣ* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ǣ* and *ǝ* (Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>4</sup>, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ō*, *ē*, or to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *ɾ*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *ɾ* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ḷ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṛ̃*, *ṛ̥*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṛ̃* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

*r*, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *a*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

$$a = a.$$

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharai*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj.  $\sqrt{pak}$ ,  $\sqrt{pik}$  'ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gil. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. (*h*)*āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

$$a > i.$$

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

*a* to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhi shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. *√pak*, *√pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *arṣāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jaina Prāk. *imṣāla*, Guj. *imṣār*, *imṣōl*, Mar. *imṣāl*, *imṣōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jidhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pāli *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhi *jitī*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pāli *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pāli *pañjara*, Ur. *piṃjira*, Hindī *piṃjar*, Sindhi *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pāli *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindī *chīmā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhi *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. *\*prathara* 'first,' Hindī *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *paharu*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātīš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *ḡayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afy. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *san*, Šiy. *yin*, Sarq. *ḡin*, *ḡin*, Minj. *ḡinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *ḡan*, *jin*, Zaf. *ḡan*, Afy. *jinaṭ*, *jānaṭ*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *ḡan*, *ḡin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.



$a > u$ .

§ 4. The change of  $a$  to  $u$  in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original  $a$  to  $u$ .

a. Indian. As the change of  $a$  to  $i$  is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of  $a$  to  $u$  is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as  $a$  becomes  $i$  in Sindhi, Gujarati and Marathi, so  $a$  becomes  $u$  most often of all in Uriya and Bangali.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puṭhuma*, *puḷhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *prthaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jaina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *pañṇuvīsati*. Skt. *karkatika* 'cucumber,' Ur. *kāmkuri*, Bang. *kāmkur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *māgarā*, *mōgara*, Sindhi *munīrō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pāli *aṅgulikā*, Nāip. *aumlō*, Bihārī *aṅguri*, Hindī *uṅgalī*, *aṅgulī*, Panj. *uṅgulī*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *ḍanu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Simh. *\*manurama-ka > manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Simh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Simh. *\*hamuda > \*mahuda > muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *guan*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *x<sup>a</sup>aṭai* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šaal*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutā*, Kurd. *otan*, Oss. *caṭin*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Silma) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxi *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *pāz*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. *√x<sup>a</sup>am* 'call,' Phl.

*x<sup>v</sup>antānō*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>āndan*, Wāxī *kandam*, Šiy. *šandam*, Sarq. *šāndam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānay*, Kurd. *x<sup>v</sup>āndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(īh)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiy. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tužai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*.

*a > ā*.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃrddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmidhi*, Pāli *samidhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jāina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *pradakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācrū* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kaśm. *vūč*, Ur. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharū*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khatvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khaṭṭa*, Ur. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khaṭṭ*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Ur. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Ur. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanām*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālanēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sām̐c*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Ur. *naṃgalā*, Bang. *nēmṭā*, Hindi *naṃgā*, E. Panj. *naṃgā*, W. Panj. *nāṃgā*, Sindhi *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāgum*, Mar. *naṃgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxī *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazandra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Wāxī *hazūr*, Sarq. *hasōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hasār*. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafṛ*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kaš., Māz., (Hil. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marata* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *mart*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mīr*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxī, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarata* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxī *sur(i)*, Gab. *sart*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. *(h)āps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(in)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kaš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *paši*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxī, Šiy. *xaš*, Kaš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x"āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xasrū*.

$a > i$ .

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γīn*, *šīn*, etc. (see § 3).

$a > u$ .

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kašm. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jīnā*, *jūnā*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maidyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *maḥung*,



Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *māda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mādag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šir. *nīmīk*.

$a > \check{e}$ .

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjābi and Gujarātī show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to *ē*. The intermediate step of the change from *a* to *ē* is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Sinhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābi change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kaśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tēraham*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggū*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēmh*, Hindī *sēmch*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēmndhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *laharī* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahira*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Sinh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(ā)*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kaśm., Ur., Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Sinh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kaśm. *manha*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māmjh*, *manh*, Panj. *māmjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *manjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Sinh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṅgana* 'egg-plant,' Ur. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindī

*bāiṃgan*, Panj. *bāiṃam*, Mar. *bāiṃgan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kaśm. *satatājih*, Ur. *sateālīśa*, Bang. *śatcalīś*, Bihār., Hindī *sāimtālis*, Panj. *saṃtālī*, Sindhi *satētālīh*, Guj. *sūdtālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *di*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *da*, *dū*, *di*, Afy. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. *√karəš* 'drag,' Phl. *kašītanō*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšan*, *kišan*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afy. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afy. *tēšta*. Av. *xʷanhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *xʷāhar*. Wāxī *xīui*, Sarq. *yaxi*, Sangl. *ixīva*, Minj. *yaxīva*, Afy. *xōr*, Bal. *gvahār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. *(h)ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *kāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *vort*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

$a > \ddot{o}$ .

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uriya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uriya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pālī *badara*, Ur. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhi *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarsa* 'confusion,' Pālī *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *maṣsu*, *maṃsu*, Pālī *maṣsu*, Ass. *mōc*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pālī *cakṣu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *caṇcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

*cōme*. Skt. *ēkādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkādasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindī *ēgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giāram*, Sindhī *ikāraham*, *yāraham*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *prth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puha(v)i*, Pāli *paṭhavi*, *pathavi*, Old Hindī *puhumi*, Simh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maḍu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *pane*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afγ. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dam* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

*a > au.*

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtanō*, New Pers. *puxtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāš. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fičun*.

### *Aphaeresis of a.*

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alanākāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alanākāra*, *alanākia*, Pāli *lanākāra*, Elu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Ur., Bang. *heṭha*, Sindhī *heṭhē*, Guj. *heṭhe*, Mar. *heṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Ur. *bacāṇbā*, Bang. *bacān*, Hindī *bacāṇnā*, Mar. *vacāvinēm*. Skt. *aranya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Old Hindī *raṇj*, Hindī *ran*,

Sindhī *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Simh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Simh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *atas* 'linseed,' Kāsm. *aliś*, Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tīśī*, Hindī *tīśī*, *alsī*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Simh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Simh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Simh. *vala*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angust*, Wāxi *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Siv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asēga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθagaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afy. *zda*. Av. *apās* 'open,' Phl. *apac*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāš*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxi *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāšī*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afy. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

### *Syncope of a.*

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *poppphala* < \**pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggat*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitē*, Sindhī *jāganu*, Guj. *jāgaruṇ*, Mar. *jāganēm*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dubla*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dubla*, Sindhī *dūbirō*, *rabalō*, Guj.



*dubal(a)*, Mar. *dubal*. Skt. *cāmara* ‘fly-whisk,’ Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindī *cāmrī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāmrī*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yazatanam* ‘of the angels,’ Phl. *yaztān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’ Av. *paθana* ‘broad,’ Phl. *pahn(āz)*, Afy. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* ‘blue,’ Phl., New Pers. *xašm*, Afy. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. *(ha)šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* ‘homage,’ Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimī(š)*, *namūš*, *namēš*. Av. *visaiti* ‘twenty,’ Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Afy. *vīšt*, Bal. *gīst*.

### Apocope of *a*.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindī. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* ‘club,’ Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāme*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* ‘thirteen,’ Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāsm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Simh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* ‘long,’ Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* ‘sharp,’ Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēt*,

New Pers. *tēz*, Wāxī *tīz*, Sarq. *taīz*, Kurd. *tīš(i)*. Av. *saradā* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiy. *δās*, *lās*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl. *Yayn. das*, Afy. *las*, Oss. *das*.

### *Prothesis of a.*

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindī prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindī *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiy. *vrūy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vrūj*, Gab. *burā*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stārə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sītārah*, Afy. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brat*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

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$$\bar{a} = \bar{a}.$$

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhāreṭi*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bagh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxī *vāō*, Šiy. *veō*, Sarq. *vāō*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāz*, New Pers. *pāz*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šiy. *pād*, Sangl. *pud*, Gīl. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gāθu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afy. *yālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

$\bar{a} > a$ .

§ 16. The shortening of an original  $\bar{a}$  is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original  $\bar{a}$  under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original  $\bar{a}$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgasīra* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Pāli *māgasīra*, *maggasīra*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēula*, Bang. *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhī *dēvalz*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māmgā*, Sindhī *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahamga*, Nāip. *mahamgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimgā*, Sindhī *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahag*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khaz*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khārbōm*, Kāsm. *khyun*, Ur. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khānu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khānēm*, Sinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhar. Prāk. *bhāginējja*, Pāli *bhāginēyya*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(rh)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Sinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkasa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yān*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Sarq. *rapč*, Kāš. *rūvās*, Tāl. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiy., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal,' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afy. *ōra*.

$\bar{a} > \check{i}$ .

§ 17. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{i}$  occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiy., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

$\bar{a} > \check{u}$ .

§ 18. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{u}$  is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects  $\bar{a}$  is changed to  $\check{u}$  before *m* and *n*, as  $\bar{e}$  is changed to  $\check{i}$  under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*, Simh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prāk. *sunhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afy. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiy. *rūn*, Afy. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatīy*, Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursay*, Kurd. *tarsumak*, Oss. *tharsun*.



$\bar{a} > \check{e}$ .

§ 19. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{e}$  is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{e}$  is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *thēvaṇēm*. Skt. *āsā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātrī* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pāli *ratti*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Simh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Simh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *viḡār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*, Kurd. *bāzēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$ .

§ 20. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{o}$  seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālīsh, and in Afyān  $\bar{a}$  regularly becomes  $\check{o}$ , excepting before nasals, where the change is to  $\check{u}$  (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of  $\bar{a}$  often tends to approach the value of  $\check{o}$ .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gil. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxi *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoya*, Yidg. *yovy*, Yayn. *ap*, Gab.  $\check{o}$ , Siv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn.  $\check{o}$ , Māz.  $\check{o}(u)$ , Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi

*nung*, Māz. *nūm*, Gīl. *nōm*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

### *Aphaeresis of ā.*

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ātaš*, *taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *āyapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

### *Apocope of ā.*

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chām(v)*, *chām̐h*, *chāōm̐*, Panj. *chām̐*, *chāūm̐*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīm̐d*, Sindhī *nimr̐*, Guj. *nim̐d*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubba*, Ur., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

### *Anaptyxis of ā.*

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *mat-patifrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *pat-fras*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfraḥ*, *pādaḥfraḥ*.

$$i = i.$$

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *vijju*, Ur. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhī *viḥum̐*, Guj. *vijul̐*, Mar. *bijal̐*, *vij*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *pit(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kaš. *paṛ*, Šiy., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciy* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afγ. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *cī*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kaśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haludā*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tti*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *śithila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *sidhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *sathila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhirō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍhilō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *sadhal*, *ḍhilā*. Skt., Pāli *kathina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kathin*, Panj. *kathan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhan*, Mar. *kaḍhān*. Skt. *garbhini* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhinī*, Pāli *gab-bhinī*, Bang. *gābhina* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhin*, Panj. *garabhan*, Sindhī *gābhini*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Simh. *divasa*, Simh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *sam*, Tal. *sumistān*, Wāxī *sam*, Šiy. *simj*, Sarq. *samān*, Afy. *simai*, Kurd. *xavistān*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *simag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hišva* 'tongue,' Phl. (h)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvān*, Wāxī *sik*, Šiy. *sav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *šiba*, Bal. *simān*, Kurd. *asmān*, *sumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, *ūkha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *ikh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ās*, Simh. *imgu*, *uk*.

$i > u$ .

§ 27. The change of  $i$  to  $u$  is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of  $i$  to  $u$  is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *rājīla* 'lizard,' Pāli *rājula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *usu*. Skt., Pāli *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindī, Panj. *būnd*, *bind*, Sindhī *būnd*, *būmrō*, *bimrī*, Guj. *būnd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *būnd*, Simh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintidī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Simh. *ingu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of  $i$  to  $u$  is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *mužah* 'eyelash,' beside *mižah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kaš. *maja*, *muja*, *maža*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mižānk*, *mižī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tal. *zumistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hišva* 'tongue,' Phl. *(h)uevān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

$i > \bar{i}$ .

§ 28. The lengthening of  $i$  to  $\bar{i}$  is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of  $\bar{a}$  developed from  $a$  (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Gāthā *sīmha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sīngh*, *sīm̐h*, *singh*, Panj. *sīngh*, other New Indian dialects *sīm̐h*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīha*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *seō*, Sindhī *jīb̐h*, Simh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jīb̐h*. Skt. *āupaśivī*, nom. prop., Pāli *upasīva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *visā*, Pāli *visam̐*, *visati*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindī *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahinī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāṇī*, *bhaṇī*, Bang. *bhaṇ*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāimh*, Sindhī *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihhr*, New Pers. *huzēr*, *hujēr*, *xujēr*. Av. *vicinōišt* 'gathered,' Phl. *cītanō*, New Pers. *cīdan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

*i* > *ū*.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Ur. *ākhu*, *īkha*, *ūkha*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkḥ*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

*i* > *ē*.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇedda*, *ṇidda*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pāli *kēraṭika*, *kēraṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pāli *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintidī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Ur. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pāli *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindī *sēmdūr*, Sindhī *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēmdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniš* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnīc*.



*Aphaeresis of i.*

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk., Pāli *dāni(m)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

*Syncope of i.*

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

*Apocope of i.*

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prāk., Pāli *diṭṭhi*, Hindi *dīṭhi*, *dīṭh*, *dīṭh*, Panj. *diṭṭh*, Sindhi *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *dīṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindi *bīkat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Afy. *lar*, Kurd. *šēr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

*Prothesis of i.*

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thā*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindi *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhi *istrī*, Elu *itiri*, Sinh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afγ. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *srgāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afγ. *caγāl*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxī *γüš*, *γiš*, Afγ. *γvaγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iyosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *araga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

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$$\bar{i} = \bar{i}.$$

§ 35. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{i}$  is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for  $\bar{i}$  exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindī often writes *iy* for  $\bar{i}$  (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindī *jiyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  with the *maʔrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ . The Judaeo-Persian and the Balūcī, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *maʔrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha(ra)*, *dīggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhi *drighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$$\bar{i} > a.$$

§ 36. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pāli *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindī *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavum*, *parakhānār*, Sindhi *pārakhīa*, *parkhanu*, Mar. *parakhanēm*, *pārakhī*.

$\bar{i} > i$ .

§ 37. The shortening of  $\bar{i}$  is naturally the most common change to which  $\bar{i}$  is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīkṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, *tikkhiṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikkh*, except Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alīka* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, Ur. *duśra*, Old Hindī *dūjā*, Hindī *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhī *bījō*, *biō*, Guj. *bījō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, Ur. *kilā*, Hindī *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhī *kilī*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍā*, *kīḍ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Simh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kitt i* Simh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jīvāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *ēvandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zindak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Šir., Šiy. *širin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvī*.

$\bar{i} > u$ .

§ 38. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to  $u$  is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Simh. *dhuru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīšda* 'reward,' Phl. *mušd*, Pāz. *mosd*, New Pers. *mušd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *mīšd*.



$\bar{i} > \bar{a}$ .

§ 39. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to  $\bar{a}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścīna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

$\bar{i} > \check{e}$ .

§ 40. The change from  $\bar{i}$  to  $\check{e}$  is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīdrśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kērisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhī *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *nedḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niddha*, *nīla*. Skt. *grhītvā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindī *khelnā*, Gyp.  $\sqrt{khel}$  'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

$\bar{i} > \check{o}$ .

§ 41. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to  $\check{o}$  is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*, Sindhī *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sinjīr* 'chain,' Wāxī *sansīr*, Šiy. *sinsīr*, Sarq. *sanzair*, Bal. *samēl*, Kurd. *sanjōr*, *sanjīr*.

*Apocope of  $\bar{i}$ .*

§ 42. The apocope of final  $\bar{i}$  occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*, etc. (see § 25).

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$u = u$ .

§ 43. Indo-Iranian  $u$  is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaṛi*, Pāli *chupati*, Uṛ., Bang. *chum*, Old Hindī *chuh*, Hindī *chū*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhī *chuh*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paṛisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhī *purusu*, Gyp. *poṣa*, cf. also Simh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duyḍar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxī *ḍagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, *ditt*. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrāk*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mixur*.

$u > a$ .

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *punu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *surunga* 'mine,' Pāli *surunga*, Uṛ. *suḍamga*, Bihārī, Hindī *suramg*, Sindhī *sirimgh*, Mar. *suramg*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindī *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhī *kubirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj. *ḍubal(a)*, Mar. *ḍubāl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštur*, Wāxī *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḍüm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḍīm*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *ḍimag*.

$u > i$ .

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paṛisa*, Pāli

*purisa*, cf. also Simh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undīr*. Skt. *vālukā* 'sand,' Pāli *vālukā*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *bāli*, Hindī *bālū*, Sindhī *vārī*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *vāluṃyā*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Simh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kaš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pötr*, Šiy. *puć*, Sarq. *pöč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhīk* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohī*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxī *bön*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

$u > \bar{a}$ .

§ 46. The change of *u* to  $\bar{a}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmatī*.

$u > \bar{i}$ .

§ 47. The change of *u* to  $\bar{i}$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *sīrah*, Siv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kaš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sökr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sör*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dīm*, etc. (see § 44).

$u > \bar{u}$ .

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pāli *kula*, Ur. *kūla*, Sindhī *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kul*, Mar. *kūl*, *kul*. Skt. *mūṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūṣal*, Hindī *mūsāl*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

*mudda*, Pāli *samudda*, *muhudda*, Simh. *muhuda*, *mūda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prāk., Pāli *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhī *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pūl*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pir(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukrī *tūr*.

$u > \check{e}$ .

§ 49. The change of *u* to  $\check{e}$  is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Ur. *phamsaphamsa*, *phāmpḥāmi*, Bang. *phēmparā*, *phōmpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhī *phiphiru*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiy. *zafčam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutha*, Kurd. *cīan*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čauu*.

$u > \check{o}$ .

§ 50. The change of *u* to  $\check{o}$  is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhāl* and the *ma'rūf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to  $\check{o}$  is the change of *u* to  $\check{u}$  in Wāxī and to *u* in Sariqolī, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulūkhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(d)āhala*, Ur. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kūṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Ur. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōrī*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōrarī*, Guj. *kōḍārō*, Simh. *udalu*, *udālla*. Skt. *pustaka*

‘book,’ Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthī*, Simh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* ‘understanding,’ Phl. (*h*)ōš, New Pers. *hōš*, *hūš*. Av. *uśah* ‘dawn,’ Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puθra* ‘son,’ Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* ‘red,’ Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* ‘yoke,’ New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiy. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Kurd. *jūk*.

### *Aphaeresis of u.*

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* ‘above,’ Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* ‘assistance,’ Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* ‘water,’ Jāina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Simh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* ‘sits down,’ Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. *√bih*, Ur., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *baīsē*, Sindhi *bihe*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* ‘fig-tree,’ Ur. *ḍumuri*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* ‘teacher,’ Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* ‘above,’ Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* ‘camel,’ Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxī *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, *uštir*.

### *Syncope of u.*

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* ‘daughter,’ Prāk. *dhū(d)a*, *dhi(d)a*, Pāli *dhītā*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhi(yā)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhi(yā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dair̥hu-pairi* ‘lord of the land,’ New Pers.



*dihxān* 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *dairəhu-paiti*).

*Apocope of u.*

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhā*, Pāli *bāhu*, Ur., Bang. *bāha*, Hindī, Panj. *bām̐h*, Sindhī *bām̐h*, Guj. *bām̐hi*, Mar. *bām̐hi*, *bāh̐i*, *bāhu*.

*Prothesis of u.*

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afy. *stan*, Kurd. (*i*)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

*Epenthesis of u.*

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kaśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyula*. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṭhu*.

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$$\bar{u} = \bar{u}.$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{u}$  is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Ur. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm̐n*, *bhūm̐h*, Sindhī *bhū(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Simh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *būm*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dūr*, Maz. *dūr*, Gil. *dūr*, Wāxī *dūr*, Šiy., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *lūri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

$\bar{u} > a$ .

§ 57. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to  $a$  is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when  $\bar{u}$  often becomes  $a$  before nasals or  $r$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jaina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jaina Prāk. *bhamuka*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

$\bar{u} > i$ .

§ 58. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to  $i$  is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Ur. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Simh. *mīla*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Simh. *(h)iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *mūš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *mayā(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

$\bar{u} > u$ .

§ 59. The shortening of  $\bar{u}$  to  $u$  is the most frequent change to which  $u$  is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese  $\bar{u}$  is always written  $u$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mōl* (but *mūlāi* 'radically'), Ur. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *meull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jaina Prāk. *tuḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, Ur. *turi*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhi, Guj. *turi*. Skt.

*śālūka* 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kāśm. *cūn*, Ur. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Ur., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhī *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(m)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Ur. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(m)ām*, Sindhī *dhūmhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Simh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buj*, Wāxī *buc*, *büc*, Šiy., Sarq. *važ*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vusa*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiy. *yaθ*, Yayn. *γūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kujā*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kūm*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khu(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Ur. *bahu*, Bang. *baü*, Hindī *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ü)*).]

*ū > ā.*

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

*ū > ī.*

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* ' juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapī*, *b(h)ōrip*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Wāxī *dīr*, Afy. *līri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxī *dūt*, Šiy. *dūd*, Sarq. *dūt*, Afy. *lā*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *bādand* 'they were,' Tāt *bīrūnd*. Kurd. *barīk* 'pocket' beside *barāk*.

$\bar{u} > \check{e}$ .

§ 62. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to  $\check{e}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śaur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindī *pūrab*, Sindhī *pūrbu*, Simh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšīn*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, *šēšīn*, Kurd. *sūzin*.

$\bar{u} > \check{o}$ .

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pāli *tambūla*, Ur. *tambōla*, Guj. *tambūl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindī *tāmbōlī*, Panj. *tāmbōlī*, Guj. *tāmbōlī*, Mar. *tāmbōlī*.

$\bar{u} > yah$ .

§ 64. The interchange of  $\bar{u}$  and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *šālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *šālyah*, Afy. *šavara*, Bal. *šarāy*, Kurd. *šalū(g)*, *šulūl*, *šūrī*.

$\bar{u} > va$ .

§ 65. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnavimśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavisaī*, Kāsm. *kunavuh*, Ur. *unāīśa*, Bang. *ūniś*, Bihārī *ōnaīs*, *vanaīs*, Hindī *unīs*, Panj. *unnīh*.

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$\text{ṛ} = \text{ṛ}$ .

§ 66. Indo-Iranian  $\text{ṛ}$ , which is represented by  $\text{ṛ}$  in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to  $\check{a}$ ,  $\check{i}$ ,  $\check{u}$ ,  $\check{o}$ , or into  $r$  (sometimes  $l$ ) preceded or followed by  $a$ ,  $i$ ,  $u$ . The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original  $r$ . Thus the usual change of  $r$  is to  $a(r)$ ,  $ra$ , but labials often colour the vowel to  $u(r)$ , and sibilants colour it to  $i(r)$ .

In the Indian Gāthā dialect  $r$  is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit  $r$  often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *trṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *trṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindī *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhī *tīlī*, Mar. *tan*, Simh. *taṇa*.

$r > ar$ .

§ 67. The change of  $r$  to  $ar$  is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Simh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalim*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *sərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *šilah*, Gīl. *šil*, Šiy. *šrād*, *šrāy*, Sarq. *šard*, Sangl. *uērāy*, Minj. *šil*, Afy. *šra*, Bal. *širdē*, Kurd. *šar*, Oss. *sarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxi *stūr(ē)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *sald*.

$r > a$ .

§ 68. The change of  $r$  to  $a$  is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.



a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vud̐dha*, Pāli *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vud̐dha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kaśm. *bor*, *bod̐*, Ur̥., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaddā*, W. Panj. *baddā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' Ur̥. *būr̥hā*, *būd̐r̥*, Bang. *budā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būd̐hā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *ḅudhō*, *ḅudhō*, Guj. *burhō*. Skt. *vr̥ṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *vusaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *mat̐tiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *māmtō*, Kaśm. *mič̐*, Ur̥., Bang. *māt̐r̥*, Hindī, Panj. *mat̐r̥*, *mit̐r̥*, *māt̐r̥*, Sindhī *mit̐r̥*, Guj. *mat̐r̥*, *mit̐r̥*, *māt̐r̥*, Mar. *māt̐r̥*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Ur̥. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muvin*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Simh. *malā*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̥ḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

*r* > *ra*.

§ 69. The change of *r* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vr̥acha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *ruk̐kha*, *ric̐cha*, *rik̐kha*, Pāli *ruk̐kha*, Ur̥. *rak̐ha*, Hindī *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Simh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *ruk̐kha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *ruk̐ṣa*, not *vr̥k̐ṣa*.]

*r* > *ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *vr̥ṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhī *vir̐khu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kər̥ama* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

*r* > *i*.

§ 71. The change of *r* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhār. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kaṭl*, *kāṭl*, *kayal*, Old Hindī *kāya*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *kr̥paṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivanu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdaraka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Simh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašāy*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gidh*, *gidhvā*, Hindī *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gīd(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Ur. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindī, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhī *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Ur. *siṅgā*, Bang. *siṅg*, Hindī *sīng*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhī *siṅu*, Guj., Mar. *siṅg*, Gyp. *siṅg*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhī *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilo. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Ur. *pīṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindī *pīṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhī*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, Simh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *puṣto*. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasinā*, Hindī *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *ṭih*, *ṭihāi*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxī *tax(ī)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *xərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *xirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriftah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *giāft*, Bal. *gipta*.

$r > ri$ .

§ 72. The change of  $r$  to  $ri$  occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindī and Panjābī; Sindhī and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uriya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddhā* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pāli *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pāli *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Ur. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

*ṛ > ur.*

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bərəza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *pursī-tanō*, New Pers. *pursīdan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pörsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pirsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

*ṛ > u.*

§ 74. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *ṛ* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥thivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puthuvī*, *puthavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *munāla*, Pāli *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ū*, *riū*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *rutī*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *vṛṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhī*, *vitṭhī*, Pāli *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'old,' Ur. *būr̥hā*, *būd̥ī*, Bang. *budā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būd̥hā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *budhō*, *būd̥hō*, Guj. *burhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *par̥sti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxī *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərəta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuta*). Av. *varəδka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdah*, Wāxī *valk*, Bal. *guttiγ*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to  $r > u$  is  $r > \delta$  before sibilants in Wāxī, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxī *kōšt*.]

$r > ru$ .

§ 75. The change of  $r$  to  $ru$  occurs but rarely, and like the change of  $r$  to  $ri$  (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vrkṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukḥa*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukḥa*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

$r > ā$ .

§ 76. The change of  $r$  to  $ā$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

$r > ī$ .

§ 77. The change of  $r$  to  $ī$  is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

$r > ě$ .

§ 78. The change of  $r$  to  $ě$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindi *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vəšak*, New Pers. *bəšah*, Kaš. *viša*, Māz. *višē*, Tal. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

$r > ǫ$ .

§ 79. The change of  $r$  to  $ǫ$ , like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *mūsā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvāa*, *mūsāvāa*, Pāli *musāvādin*).

*ṛ* > *al*.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākrit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dharīl*, *dhāil*, *dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəδka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varəka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gīl. *valg*, *valk*, Judaeo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

*ṛ* > *r*.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmātrka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāua*, Sindhi *jātrō*. Skt. *mātrka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māua*, Sindhi *mātrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭi*, *māṭi*, *mitti*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vṛnta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta*, *venta*, *vonta*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Panj. *pitṭh*, *putṭh*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).



Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *taṣiṇā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pr̥daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r* of Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r* of Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *par̥šti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

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*r̄.*

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *r̄*, arising from Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *l̄*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *īr*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22–30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48–49, 54–55, 60, 70–71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *r̄* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *r̄*.

a.–b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varemi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *dīggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afγ. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirîş*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

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*l̄.*

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l̄* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *klpta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

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$\bar{e} = \bar{e}$ .

§ 85. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{e}$  is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kaśm. *day*, Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl*  $\bar{e}$  with the *ma}rūf*  $\bar{i}$  has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$ .

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiy. *ḍiv*, Sarq. *dēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *ašēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *šir*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *šir*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vīd*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vīd*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

$\bar{e} > a$ .

§ 86. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original  $\bar{e}$  unchanged (e.g. Skt. *eka* 'one,' E. Bang. *eka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *milicchu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēaraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*,

*ēkārāsa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$\bar{e} > i$ .

§ 87. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $i$  is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops  $i$  from  $\bar{e}$  before  $n$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prāk. *vianā*, *vēanā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhī *dēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhī *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *napá]δειςος*, Phl. *diz*, New Pers. *diz*, *diš*, *dēz*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xāšīn*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afy. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šīn*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ .

§ 88. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{a}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kāyūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ .

§ 89. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{i}$  is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where  $\bar{e}$  becomes  $\bar{i}$  regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk.

*mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mīm̐h*, *mēm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivil*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afγ. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. *(ha)sīn*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afγ. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *söbö*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī, Šīy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Av. *haētū* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \check{e}$ .

§ 90. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\check{e}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēṭhana*, Siṃh. *voṭunu*, New Siṃh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$ .

§ 91. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>āi*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>ai*, Wāxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḏ*, Afγ. *x<sup>v</sup>alē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēḏ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$ .

§ 92. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, *(h)ēku*, *hikidō*, *hēkidō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. *ēk*, *yēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ev(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxī *i(v)*, Šīy. *yv*,

*yi, yu, yü*, Sarq. *iv, ī*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afγ. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *īkī*, Dig. Oss. *yan*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxī, Šiγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

### *Aphaeresis of ē.*

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēṇḍī*.

### *Apocope of ē.*

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Ur. *tal(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, tal*. Skt. *sarṅē* 'with,' Ur. *saṅgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṁn*, Sindhī *sām*, Guj. *saṁn*, Mar. *saṅgēm*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian *\*paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. *\*paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchaṛ*, Ur. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē, pīchē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē, puām*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

$$\bar{a}i = \bar{a}i.$$

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. *\*rāyō*.]

$$\bar{a}i > a\bar{i}.$$

§ 96. The change of *āi* to *aī* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saīnna, senna*, Pali *sēniya*.



$\bar{a}i > \bar{i}$ .

§ 97. The change of  $\bar{a}i$  to  $\bar{i}$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, Ur., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

$\bar{a}i > \check{e}$ .

§ 98. The change of  $\bar{a}i$  to  $\check{e}$  is the normal one to which  $\bar{a}i$  is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pāli *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pāli *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindī *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pāli *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pāli *gērīka*, Ur. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

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$\bar{o} = \bar{o}$ .

§ 99. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{o}$  is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese  $\bar{o}$ , although it is retained in the script, is pronounced  $\check{u}$ . The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl*  $\bar{o}$  and the *maḡrūf*  $\bar{u}$  which has already been observed in the case of  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  (see §§ 85, 85). The Judaeo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{u}$  (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōana*, Pāli *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pāli *yotta*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhī *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Wāxī *rauj*, Afγ. *rvaḡ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rō(š)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxī *vūl*, Sarq. *baō*, Yāyn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōδ*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoða* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\bar{o} > au$ .

§ 100. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokəntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\bar{o} > a$ .

§ 101. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(m)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcinī-tanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl.  $\sqrt{sūj}$ , Sarq. *saue*, Afγ. *sēzal*, *sējāl*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjūn*, Tag. *sūjīn*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiy. *šaun*, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōsa*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

$\bar{o} > i$ .

§ 102. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxi *γiš*, *γūš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{o} > u$ .

§ 103. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccaṛi*, Māg. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pāli *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōmḥā*, Pāli *jumḥā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prāk. *uya*, Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pāli *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kaśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e. g. Kaśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Kaśm. *bodd* (written *badu*), fem. *büḍ* (written *badū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfay*, Kurd. *kūr*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Kāš., Vön. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šir., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūš*, *guša*, Bohtanī *kuši*.

*ō > ī*.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *ī* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōi* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōi*, Gab. *mīd*, Siv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gil., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Siv. *tīlū*.

*ō > ū*.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(aḥ)*, New Pers.

*gūn(ah)*, Afy. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gīl.  $\sqrt{sūj}$ , Tag. Oss. *sūjin*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rūj*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, *darōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$ .

§ 106. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to  $\bar{e}$  is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindī *rēhū*, Hindī *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Simh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēmhu*, Hindī *gēhum*, *ghēum*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Simh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$ .

§ 107. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where  $\bar{o}$  is retained, and before *n*, where  $\bar{o}$  becomes *ū* (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Afy. *γvaiγ*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

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$\bar{au} = \bar{au}$ .

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian  $\bar{au}$  has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which  $\bar{au}$  has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of  $\bar{au}$  to  $\bar{av}$  (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvicak*, *nāvtāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. *\*nāvō*.]

*āu* > *ai*.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *ai* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pāli *pōra*.  
Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaūrava*, Śaur. Prāk. *gōrava*.  
Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maūli*, Pāli *mōli*.

*āu* > *u*.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Ur. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindi, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

*āu* > *ū*.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhi *sūrihāī*.

*āu* > *ō*.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudī* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudī*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvāna*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhi *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Ur., Bang. *jhūlī*, *jhuli*, *jhōlī*, Hindi *jhōlī*, Guj., Mar. *jhōlī*.



## SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭhayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahaṛi*, *kahēi*, Pāli *kathēti*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Simh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kaśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, *(h)ēku*, *hikidō*, *hēkidō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. *(y)ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khofaγ*, Kurd. *kēūh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *kartanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiyn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

$k > kh, x$ .

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūcī *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Ur. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *kubaḍā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāmsī*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuām*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōṛ*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākəm* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. *(h)ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

$k > g$ .

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* 'parrot,' Simh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Simh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāmgu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kih*, Wāxī *kui*, *koi*, Šiyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khī*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afy. *škōṇ*, *škun*, Bal. *sikun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

$k > k̂$ .

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k̂* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kūh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāš., Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

$k > c, č$ .

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Ur. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kāśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kāśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātuc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afγ. *cārah*, Bal. *kārc(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kīr(d)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. \* Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, *sēšin*, Kurd. *šūžin*.

$k > t$ .

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*.

$k > p$ .

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$ .

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīkara* 'spray,' Prāk. *sī(h)ara*, *sībhara*, Pāli *śīkara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$ .

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārēl*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindī *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nāral*. Skt. *ākara*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Simh. *kovullā*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. (*u*)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *ḍaga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Simh. *ḍaga*, *ḍaya*, *ḍiya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Elu *siyuru*, Simh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikān* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *māḍin*, *māzin*.

$k > v$ .

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Ur., Bang. *nēul*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Simh. *kovullā*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāśatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarītanō*, Pāz. *guhārāḍ*, New Pers. *guvārad*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

$k > š$ .

§ 124. The change of *k* to *š* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sišin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, *sešin*, etc. (see § 118).

$k > h$ .

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *siriha*. Skt. *nikaśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,



Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *srjanakāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sirjanahāru*.  
Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Simh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

$k > z, \xi$ .

§ 126. The change of *k* to *z*, *ξ* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Kurd. *šūžin*, etc. (see § 118).

#### *Aphaeresis of k.*

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōrarī*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Simh. *udalu*, *udālla*.

#### *Syncope of k.*

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōāsa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Ur., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Mar. *nāral*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhār*.

#### *Apocope of k.*

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bādaaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāš. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).  
Skt. *navāka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānē*, Mukri *xānū*.

### *Epenthesis of k.*

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *mūtōkxt*, Pāz. *mīduxt*.

$$lh = kh.$$

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*.  
Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaī*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*,  
Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavum*, Mar. *lihīṇēm*, Simh. *liyanavā*.  
Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,'  
Prāk. *khāī*, Pāli *khādati*, Ur. *khāībā*, Bang. *khārtē*, Hindi  
*khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khāṇēm*,  
Simh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxi  
*xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg.  
*xuruh*, Afy. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(ī)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss.  
*xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy.  
*nūk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss.  
*nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi *yix*, Šiyn. *yax*,  
Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,'  
Afy. *max*.

$$kh > k.$$

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur  
di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *kha* 'spring,'  
Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(i)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

*kh* > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh*, *γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛṁkhalā* 'chain,' Prāk. *saṁkālā*, *saṁkhalā*, *siṁkhalā*, Pāli *saṁkhalā*, Kaśm. *hāmhalā*, Ur. *sāṁkālā*, *sāṁkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhī *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāṁkal*, Mar. *sā(m)kal*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākhā* 'twig,' Phl. *šāk*, New Pers. *šāx*, *šāγ*.

*kh* > *c*.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh* > *s*.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh* > *h*.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhī* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahī*, Pāli *sakhī*, Sindhī *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(m)h*, Hindī *mumh*, Panj. *mūmhū*, *muhum*, Sindhī *mumhum*, *mukhu*, Simh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh* > *y*.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

- a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Simh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh* > *v*.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

- a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Simh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

### *Prothesis of kh.*

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

- b. Iranian. Av. *æšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xišm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirc*, *hirš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ῥόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʔik*, *hā*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yüng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

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*g* = *g*.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

- a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaḍḍaha*, Pāli *gaḍḍabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gaḍāha*, Ur. *gaḍhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gaḍhā*, Panj. *gaḍhā*, *gaḍḍō*, Sindhī *garahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *juaḥ*, Pāli *yugala*, Ur. *jugala*, Bang., Hindī, Panj., Guj. *jugāl*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*.

- b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *γarma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *garm*. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vön. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *yao*, Yāyn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōgā* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōy*.

$g > k$ .

§ 141. The change of the voiced  $g$  to the voiceless  $k$  is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has  $q$  initially for Indo-Iranian  $g$  (Digaurish  $\gamma$ ).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇāra*, Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāis. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Simh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Elu *gurulu*, Simh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gahirō*, Simh. *gāmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

$g > gh, \gamma$ .

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian  $g$  is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects  $g$  becomes  $\gamma$  regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmīr dialects, in Afyān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian  $g$  becomes  $\gamma$  also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Simh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(m)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn.



*γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaḍa* 'thief,' Afγ. *γal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afγ. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

$g > y$ .

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prāk. *jaya*, Sindhi *jaḡu*, *jaḡatu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Simh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prāk., Pāli *nāga*, Simh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zarīngūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afγ. *zaryūn*.

$g > v$ .

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Simh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpat*, *maṣpat*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōγ*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargōš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. \**xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

$g > š$ .

§ 145. The change of *g* to *š* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šiynī and Sariqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šiyn. *sāv*, Sarq. *šao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *šürm*, *gürm*, etc. (see § 140).

$g > h$ .

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāginejja*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*.

*Syncope of g.*

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadhēya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *sṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *sigāla*, Ur. *śiāla*, *ścāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *āgata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhaṛnī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaṛṇī*, Bang. *baṛn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāinḥ*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, *bhāin*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, Māz. *darā*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

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$gh = gh$ .

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēγ*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīγ*.

*gh > k.*

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašəmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daya* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāy*, New Pers. *dāy*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāy*, Kurd. *dak*.

*gh > kh.*

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisaci Prākrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mīm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*.

*gh > g.*

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kaśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kaśm. *gur*°, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighatātē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighātēti*, Uṛ., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhī *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagad*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

*gh > h.*

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Sinh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. (a) *rahaṭ*, Sindhī *ar(a)ṭu*, Guj. *rēm̐t*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mīm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. *\*baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. *tò Bayistavon* *ōpos*, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistān*, *bahistān*, *bīstūn*.

*Syncope of gh.*

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raya* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

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*ṛ, ṛ̃*

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhī, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ṛ, ṛ̃*, pronounced *ṛg* and *ṛ̃i*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ṛ* and *ṛ̃* have been lost. The Sindhī *ṛ* and *ṛ̃* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

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*c = c.*

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caturo*, Pāli *catu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Uṛ., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcū*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōšm*, Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' Phl. *caxr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ'a*, Phl. *citrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afy. *čīra*, *sīra*, Kurd. *cāra*.

*c > č.*

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī, Kafirī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, dēśajas, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ĩ*, *ẽ*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kaśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *čīr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičīn*.

*c* > *ch*.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

*c* > *j*.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *z* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōzēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. *✓sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sējāl*, *svajavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōjūn*, Tag. *sūjīn*. Av. *haca + aḍairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Šīr. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central



dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *šēr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vaocaṭ* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāš*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaji*, Zaf. *vāš*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vōn. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *ūwāj*.

$c > \check{j}$ .

§ 159. The change of *c* to *ĵ* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sēĵal*, *svaĵ-avul*, *sēzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōĵun*, Tag. *sūĵin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Sīv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Afy. *rvaĵ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruš*, *rō(š)*.

$c > \check{t}h$ .

§ 160. The change of *c* to *ṭh*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thomṭ*, Bang. *ṭhōmṭ*, *cōmṭ*, Hindī *ṭhōmṭh*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

$c > t$ .

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jāina Prāk. *tēgicchā*, Pāli *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > \check{t}h, \theta$ .

§ 162. The change of *c* to *ṭh, θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thōmṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

$c > d$ .

§ 163. The change of  $c$  to  $d$  occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prāk. *mucaī*, Māhār. Prāk. *muyaī*, Pāli *muñcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

$c > y$ .

§ 164. The change of  $c$  to  $y$  is only an apparent one,  $y$  being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of  $c$  (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prāk. *muyaī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$c > s$ .

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindī  $c$  is always pronounced  $s$ . The Sinhalese often changes  $c$  to  $s$ , which may further develop into  $h$ . Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of  $s$  from  $c$  most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Ur. *cak*, E. Hindī *cāk*, W. Hindī *cakkī* (pron. *sakkī*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects  $\sqrt{pac}$ , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sīra*, *čīra* (see § 155).

$c > š$ .

§ 166. The change of  $c$  to  $š$  occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Wāxī, Sarq. *z*, Afy. *ǰ*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāzuk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Sīv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šīr. *cūγ*, Wāxī *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šiv*.

*c* > *z*.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *z* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt*, *tāzēt*, New Pers. *tāzad*, Wāxī *tōcam*, Sarq. *taǰam*, Afγ. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' New Pers. *rōz*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāzad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judaeo-Pers. *sāzad*.

*c* > *ž*.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *ž*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihhr*, New Pers. *hujīr*, *xujīr*, *hužīr*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rōž*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπίθη* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapīc*, New Pers. *hažīž*, *kavīž*.

*c* > *h*.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Simh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pālī *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Simh. *hora*, *hera*.

*c* > *cʰ*.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *cʰ* is found occasionally in the North Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

### *Syncope of c.*

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaana*, *vacana*, Pāli *vacana*, Sindhī *vacanu*. Skt. *sūcī* 'needle,' Prāk. *sū*, Pāli *sūcī*, Ur., Bang. *sūcī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sū*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *su*, Gyp. *suu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōž*, *ruž*, etc. (see § 159).

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*ch* = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *tipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *tēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *tōpanā*, *thapanā*, *tīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhī *chāpanu*, *cāpanu* 'to shampoo,' *tapudanū*, *thapanū*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭanēm*, *tāp*, *thapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*) *chop*, *shampoo*.

*ch* > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindī *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhī *cāpanu*, *chāpanu*, Mar. *cāpaṭanēm*, *chāpanēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ch* > *t*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *t* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *tipibā*, Bang. *tēpitē*, Hindī *tīpanā*, *thapanā*, *tōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *tapudanū*, *thapanū*, Mar. *tāp*, *thapanū*, etc. (see § 172).

*ch* > *th*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *th* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Hindī *thapanā*, *tīpanā*, *tō-*

*panā, tōpanā, Sindhī thapanu, tapudānu, Mar. thapakā, tāp, etc.*  
(see § 172).

*ch > t.*

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt.  $\sqrt{ch}$ ap 'go,' Hindī *tōpanā, tōpanā, tīpanā, thapanā, etc.* (see § 172).

*ch > s.*

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *prchatī* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchari*, Pāli *pucchatī*, Ur. *pūchanā, pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindī *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhī *puchanu*, Guj. *puchavum*, Mar. *pusanēm*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā, chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chām(v), chāmḥ, chāōm*, Panj. *cā(ü)m*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*: Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

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*j = j.*

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṁgha*, Nāip. *jāṇ*, Bang. *jāṁgī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *jāṁgh*, Panj. *jāṁgh*, Sindhī *jaṅgh*, *jāṁgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṁghā, jāṁgh*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātrjāyā* 'brother's wife,' Ur., Bang. *bhāūja*, Hindī *bhāīj, bhāvaj, bhāujī, bhōjāi*, Sindhī *bhōjāi*, Mar. *bhāvajāi*. Skt. *bhrātrja* 'nephew,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *bhatījā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *zan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, zan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *zanikō*, Šīyn. *yin*, Sarq. *yin, zin*, Minj. *zinga*, Afy. *jinaī, jūnaī, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.



*zanad*, Zaf. *bažint*, Kāš. *jīdan*, Kuhr. *jīndamūn*, Šiyn. *zīnam*, Sarq. *zanam*, Afγ. *žanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *zanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bāz*, *bāž*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$ .

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh*,  $\gamma$ , is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šiyn.  $\gamma in$ , Sarq.  $\gamma in$ , *žin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$ .

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāisācī Prākrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Simh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccaī*, Pāli *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$ .

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *jaṇḡala* 'wild,' Old Hindī *jaṇḡar*, New Ind. dialects *jaṇḡalī*, except Ass. *jaṇḡhal*, Sindhī *jhaṇḡalī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$ .

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Simhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jībbhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēō*, New Ind. dialects *jīb* (Sindhī *jīb*), Simh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jagupsati*

‘despises,’ Prāk. *du(g)ucchaï*, *du(g)umchaï*, *jhuṇaï*, *juucchaï*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* ‘glory,’ Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sinh. *tēda*.

*j* > *y*.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* ‘king,’ Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* ‘herd,’ Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* ‘elephant,’ Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* ‘woman,’ Gab. *yan(ūk)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

*j* > *v*.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* ‘of a king,’ Prāk. *rāāṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

*j* > *z*.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kāśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbarāṇśī and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* ‘tongue,’ Kāśm. *zēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* ‘water,’ Ass., Kāśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *zal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* ‘lives,’ Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *zwas-tanō*, New Pers. *zistan*, Kāš. *vazandō*, *jiga*, Afy. *zvand(un)*,

Kurd. *zīn*, *žīn*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtanī *vēzār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zaf*, New Pers. *žarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afy. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$j > ž$ .

§ 186. The change of *j* to *ž*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *žan*, *jan*, *jīn*, *yan*, Samn. *žanikō*, Sarq. *žin*, *γīn*, Minj. *žinga*, Kurd. *žin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *žvand(ūn)*, Kurd. *žīn*, *zīn*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *žarf*, Afy. *žavar*, Kurd. *žōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirž*.

*Syncopé of j.*

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

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$jh = jh$ .

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

$jh > j$ .

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jaina Prāk. *jalla*.

*jh* > *z*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *z* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kaśmīrī is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *zal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindī *jhāl*.

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*ṭ* = *ṭ*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *tr̥ṣṭati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuṭṭaī*, *tōḍaī*, U<sub>r</sub>. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāitē*, Sindhī *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavum*, *tōḍavum*, Mar. *tuṭanēm*, *tōḍanēm*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāṭa*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindī *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

*ṭ* > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *r* and this *r* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍaī*, Pāli *aṭavī*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Prāk. *kīḍa*, Pāli *kīṭa*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang., Hindī *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍ*, *kīḍā*, Gyp. *kirī*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' U<sub>r</sub>. *karaī*, *kahrāī*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āī)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhī*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhāī*, Simh. *kulāva*.

*ṭ* > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭika*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śaur. Prāk. *saadīā*, Pāli *sakata*. Skt. *kāṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēdhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindī *akhārḥ*, Hindī *akhārā*, Mar. *akhādā*.

$\dot{t} > t$ .

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian  $\dot{t}$  to  $t$  occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāis. Prāk. *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

$\dot{t} > p$ .

§ 195. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $p$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* 'pot,' Pāli *kalōpi*.

$\dot{t} > r$ .

§ 196. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $r$  (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Ur. *karaṇ*, *kahrāi*, *kadhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

$\dot{t} > l$ .

§ 197. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $l$  is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiha*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkataka* 'crab,' Jaina Prāk. *kak-kada*, Pāli *kakkataka*, Simh. *kakuluvā*, *kakuluvā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Simh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Ur., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindī *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

$\dot{t} > \underline{l}$ .

§ 198. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $\underline{l}$  occurs especially in Simhalese, where  $\underline{l}$  and  $\underline{l}$  are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between  $\underline{l}$  and  $\underline{l}$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kūḍa*, Pāli *kūṭa*, Simh. *kulu*. Skt. *sphōṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuttar*, *phudar*, Pāli



*phutati*, Hindī *phūṭ*, Panj. *phutt*, other New Ind. dialects *phut*, except Simh. *polanavā*.

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*ṭh* = *ṭh*.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhā*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

*ṭh* > *ṭ*.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kuṭhārī*, Ur. *kuṭārī*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭādī*, Bang. *kurhād*, *kurhādī*, Bihārī, Hindī *kuḷhārī*, *kuhādā*, Panj. *kuhādā*, *kumlhārā*, *kuḷhādā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāi*, *kurhār*.

*ṭh* > *ḍ*.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhī *pēḍahī*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Ur. *paḍhibā*, Bang. *paḍhitē*, Hindī, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Sindhī *paḍahanu*, Guj. *paḍhavum*, Mar. *paḍhanēm*.

*ṭh* > *ḍh*.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kuṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kurhād*, *kurhādī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhaṭ*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. ✓ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

$\dot{t}h > \dot{r}h, rh.$

§ 203. The change of  $\dot{t}h$  to  $\dot{r}h, rh$ , is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of  $\dot{t}h$  to  $\dot{d}h$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *kut̥hāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kur̥hād̥, kur̥hād̥i*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh, padh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\dot{t}h > ll.$

§ 204. The change of  $\dot{t}h$  to  $ll$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ar̥kōṭha, ar̥kōl(l)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *am̥kolla*, Pāli *am̥kōla*, Guj., Mar. *am̥kōl*.

$\dot{t}h > lh.$

§ 205. The change of  $\dot{t}h$  to  $lh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kut̥hāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī, kuhādā*, Panj. *kulhādā, kum̥lhārā, kuhādā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kut̥hara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kud̥halē*, Bihārī *kōlhū*.

$\dot{t}h > h.$

§ 206. The change of  $\dot{t}h$  to  $h$  is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kut̥hāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhādā, kulhārī*, Panj. *kuhādā, kulhādā, kum̥lhārā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

$\dot{t}h > hr.$

§ 207. The change of  $\dot{t}h$  to  $hr$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kut̥hāri* 'axe,' Ur. *kuhr̥ārī, kuṭād̥i, kuṭārī*, etc. (see § 200).

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$\dot{d} = \dot{d}.$

§ 208. Indian  $\dot{d}$  is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷana, pellana*, Pāli *pīḷana*, Hindī *pēḍanā, pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā, pēlanā, vēlanā*, Sindhī *pīḍanu, pīranu*, Mar. *pīlanēm*.

$\dot{d} > \dot{t}$ .

§ 209. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $\dot{t}$  occurs regularly in the Pāisācī Prākṛit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiśa*, *baḍiśa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḍisa*, *balisa*, Pāis. Prāk. *vaṭisa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindī *balia*.

$\dot{d} > d$ .

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian  $\dot{d}$  occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt.  $\sqrt{d}ap$  'to collect,' U<sub>r</sub>. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindī *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbanā*, Sindhī *dabanu*, Guj. *dābavum*, Mar. *dabanēm*.

$\dot{d} > \underline{r}, r$ .

§ 211. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $\underline{r}, r$ , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an  $\underline{r}$  developed from an original  $\dot{d}$  may often become  $r$ , and indeed in Hindī  $\underline{r}$  and  $r$  are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however,  $\dot{d}$  is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes  $\underline{r}, r$  (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhī *pīraṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *ulumpa*, Simh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\dot{d} > l$ .

§ 212. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $l$  is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian  $\dot{d}$  is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālima*, Prāk. *dālima*, Pāli *dālima*, Hindī *dārīm*, Sindhī *dārhum*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlāḥ*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlati*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Jāina Prāk. *sōlasa*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōraha*, Kaśm. *surāh*, U<sub>r</sub>. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\dot{d} > \underline{l}$ .

§ 213. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $\underline{l}$ , which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *ulumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlaiü*, Guj. *kōlō*. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *solaha*, Jāina Prāk. *solasa*, Pāli *sōlasa*, Panj. *sōlām*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, etc. (see preceding §).

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$\underline{d}h > \underline{r}h$ .

§ 214. The change of  $\underline{d}h$  to  $\underline{r}h$  is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mūrhu*.

$\underline{d}h > r$ .

§ 215. The change of  $\underline{d}h$  to  $r$  occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *mūḍhattaṇa*, Hindī *mūrakhapan*, Panj. *mūrakhapunā*.

$\underline{d}h > l, \underline{lh}$ .

§ 216. The change of  $\underline{d}h$  to  $l, \underline{lh}$ , is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulār*, Hindī *dulhā*. Skt. *udvōḍhā* 'bride,' Hindī *dulhin*, Guj. *dulāhī*.

$\underline{d}h > l, \underline{lh}$ .

§ 217. The change of  $\underline{d}h$  to  $l, \underline{lh}$ , is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pāli *daḷha*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

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$\underline{n} > n$ .

§ 218. The change of  $\underline{n}$  to  $n$  is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāisācī Prākṛit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇaganayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāis. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bām-haṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*.

$\underline{n} > l, \underline{l}$ .

§ 219. The change of  $\underline{n}$  to  $l, \underline{l}$ , is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Simh. *velāṇḍā*, *veṇaṇḍa*.

$$t = t.$$

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *tunḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṁth*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōṁḍ*, Guj. *ḍund*, Mar. *tōṁḍā*, *tumḍ*, *tund*, *dōṁḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pāli *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śaur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *rutī*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutū*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxī *tan*, Šiyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidāta* 'seen,' Phl. *dītō*, New Pers. *dīdah*, Bal. *dīta*, Kurd. *dīt*.

$$t > i.$$

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ḍ*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiyn. *čād*, Sarq. *cād*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yayn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gīl. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$$t > g.$$

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *atiš*,



Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

$t > c$ .

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhai*, *ṭhāi* (cf. also *ciṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pāli *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, Ur. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēnēm*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kaśmīrī under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kaśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *müč* < \**moti*.]

$t > ṭ$ .

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' Ur., Bang. *ṭika*, Hindī *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pāli *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbum*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Simh. *tāmbara*.

$t > ṭh$ .

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmth*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vṛtti* 'business,' Prāk. *vaṭṭi*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

$t > ḍ$ .

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍai*, Pāli *patati*, Ur. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍanā*, Hindī *paranā*, Sindhī *pavanu*, Guj. *paḍavum*, Mar. *paḍanēm*, *paranēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pāli *patākā*, Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhanu*.

$t > th, \theta$ .

§ 227. The change of  $t$  to  $th, \theta$ , is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of  $t$  to  $\theta$  according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting  $th$  developed from  $t$  in North Balūcī and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *trpyati* 'rejoices,' Prāk. *thippaī*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Wāxī *θavam*, Šiyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsīdan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusag*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dāθa*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brās*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > d$ .

§ 228. The change of the tenuis  $t$  to the media  $d$  is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tatah* 'thence,' Māhar. Prāk. *tattō*, Śaur. Prāk. *tadō*, Apab. Prāk. *daū*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śaur. Prāk. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *gaḍē*, Pāis. Prāk. *gata*, Apab. Prāk. *gaḍu*, Pāli *gata*, Simh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *krta* 'done,' Māg. Prāk. *kaḍē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Apab. Prāk. *kiḍu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindī *kīya*, Bihārī *kaīl*, *kāīl*, *kayal*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prāk. *ua*, Pāli *uḍa*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prāk. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vad*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vön., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vad*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Kurd. *virād*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

*vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Sīv. *vī*, Zaf. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

$t > y$ .

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Sīv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, Šīyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *pit(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šīyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

$t > r$ .

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāśm. *satat*, U<sub>r</sub>. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satarī*, Guj. *sitēr*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > l$ .

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kaṛl*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$ .

§ 232. The change of  $t$  to  $v$  is only apparent,  $v$  being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic  $t$  (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pāli *ātāpa*, Simh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māmū*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Elu *mava*, Simh. *mar(v)*, *mā*.

$t > s$ .

§ 233. The change of  $t$  to  $s$  is excessively rare, excepting in Simhalese and North Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Simh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāθa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$ .

§ 234. The change of  $t$  to  $h$  is very rare, excepting in Simhalese, where the  $h$  is a further development of the  $s$  arising from an original  $t$  (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Simh. *his*, *sis*.

### *Syncope of t.*

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian  $t$  is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūt̥tha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāudha*, Bang. *cāudā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *saya*, Pāis. Prāk. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kaśm. *hath*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang.

*śaya*, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prāk. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhī *piu*, Simh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māmu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Simh. *mā*, *mav(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *zī*, Tāl. *Tāt zū*, Bal. *zūt*, *zīt*, N. Bal. *zīθ*, Kurd. *zū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

### *Epenthesis of t.*

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istir*, *asr*.

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### *th = th.*

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māthā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathanu*, Guj. *mathavum*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(m)thanēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prāk. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiyn. *yaθ*, Yayn. *yūt(aḥ)*, Afy. *yul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjun*, Tag. *thinjin*.

### *th > ṭh.*

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.



a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pīhir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Simh. *palamu*.

*th* > *ḍh*.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *sidhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *sathila*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindī *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *ḍhilā*. Skt. *mēthi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhī*, *mēḍhā*.

*th* > *t*.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

*th* > *ḍh*.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śāur., Pāis. Prāk. *adha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śāur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vēḍhati*.

*th* > *y*.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pāli *ratha*, Simh. *riya*.

*th* > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237).  
Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

*th* > *l̥*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l̥* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Simh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

*th* > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavaī*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahaṇa*, Pāli *kathana*, Ur. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindī *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhī *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavum̐*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm̐*, *pihir(y)ōm̐*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum̐*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindī *gāhā*, Sindhī *gāi*. Skt. *pr̥th(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puḍhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *puthavī*, *puthuvī*, *paṭhavī*, Old Hindī *puhumī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm̐* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

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*d* = *d̥*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasā*, Śaur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pāli *dasā*, Kāśm. *daha*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Ur. *ḍamkibā*, *ḍamś*, Bang. *ḍamś*, *ḍāmś(ā)*, Hindī *ḍams(ak)*, *ḍāmik*, Sindhī *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍamś*, *ḍāmcaṇēm*, *ḍamkhaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prāk. *jaī*, Jaina Prāk. *jati*, Pāli *yadi*, Hindī *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andī-mānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *ḍhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāz*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šīyn. *pāḍ*, Sarq. *paḍ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāḍ*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*.

$d > i$ .

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāz*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

$d > kh, x$ .

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh, x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. *\*ni + √dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihuftan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

$d > g$ .

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

$d > jh$ .

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *ḍhī(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk.

*dhūdā, dhīdā*, Pāli *dhītā, dhītara*, Ass. *jī*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhīu, dhīy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

$\bar{d} > \bar{d}$ .

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian  $\bar{d}$  is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahaī*, Pāli *ḍahati*, Hindī *ḍāh, dāh*, Sindhī *ḍah*. Skt. *\*hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Māg. Prāk. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jāina Prāk. *ḍūya*, Pāli *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍāmś(ā), damś*, Hindī *ḍāmīk, damś(ak)*, Sindhī *ḍamganu*, Mar. *ḍāmcanēm, ḍasanēm, damkha-nēm, damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pāli *pavāda*, Hindī, Sindhī *pavār*, Guj. *pavād*, Mar. *pavādā*. Skt. *dōlā* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍōlā*, Pāli *dōlā*, Bihārī *ḍōr, dōr*, Hindī *ḍōl(ā), ḍōlī, dōl(ā), dōlik*, Panj., Sindhī *ḍōlī*, Guj. *ḍōī, ḍōlavum*, Mar. *ḍōlā, ḍōlī, ḍōlā, dōlī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

$\bar{d} > t$ .

§ 252. The change of the voiced  $\bar{d}$  to the voiceless  $t$  is regular in the Pāisācī Prākṛit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāis. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāis. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pāli *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jāina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

$\bar{d} > th$ .

§ 253. The change of  $\bar{d}$  to  $th$  occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *daḍaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dātanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādīa*, Gil. *fandi*, Tāl. *dīah*, Wāxī *raḍān*, Šīyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *ḍām*, Afy. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzgōš* 'hare, donkey').

$\bar{d} > dh, \delta$ .

§ 254. The aspirization of an original  $\bar{d}$  is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *ḍ* to *ḍ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk. *dhūdā*, *dhīdā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhīu*, *dhīy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *ḍr̥mhita* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *ḍhaṇiya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasā* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *ḍēs*, *lēs*, Sarq. *ḍēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afγ. *las*, Kurd. *ḍav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *daḍaiti* 'gives,' Wāxī *raḍān*, Šiyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *ḍām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāḍa* 'foot,' Wāxī *pūḍ*, Šiyn. *pāḍ*, Sarq. *paḍ*, N. Bal. *phāḍ*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēḍa* 'sweat,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>ēḍē*, *x<sup>v</sup>aī*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>ai*, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afγ. *x<sup>v</sup>alē*, Bal. *hēḍ*, N. Bal. *hēḍ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

*ḍ* > *n*.

§ 255. The change of *ḍ* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdahum*, Afγ. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

*ḍ* > *y*.

§ 256. The change of *ḍ* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *ḍ* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prāk. *khāra*, Māhār. Prāk. *khāya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hiāa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiām*, Sindhī *himumu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilō. Skt. *ādēśa* 'order,' Pāli *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *ārsu*. Skt. *pāḍa* 'foot,' Prāk. *pāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *pāḍa*, Hindī *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pāūm*, Simh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.



*xaïn*. Phl. *xadū(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayū*, *xadū*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhiv*, *baiv*.

$d > r$ .

§ 257. The change of  $d$  to  $r$  is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādrśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa*, Pāis. Prāk. *tātisa*, Pāli *tādīsa*. Skt. *ētādrśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa*, *ēārisa*, Pāli *ērīsa*, *ēdīsa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkarasa*, *ēkaḍasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikāraham*, *yāraham*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

$d > l$ .

§ 258. The change of  $d$  to  $l$  is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba*. Skt. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jāina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palīt*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, Pāli *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxī *las*, *das*, Šiyn. *līs*, *ḍīs*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>atāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukrī *xola*. Av. *frazgaḍaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *zyalī*.

$d > l$ .

§ 259. The change of  $d$  to  $l$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, *dōhala*, Pāli *dōhala*.

$d > v$ .

§ 260. The change of  $d$  to  $v$  is only apparent,  $v$  being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *ḍ* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karalī*, *kayalī*, *kēlī*, Pāli *kadalī*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhī *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍō*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Simh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

*d > h.*

§ 261. The change of *ḍ* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Simh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' Ur. *pāhī*, Bang. *pāī*, Hindī *pāī*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhiv*, *baiv*, etc. (see § 256).

### *Syncope of ḍ.*

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *ḍ* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *ḍ* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēlī*, *kayalī*, *karalī*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhī *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, Ur. *khāibā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khāṇēm*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *saraa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhī *sarai*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gīl. *nāramah*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *pādika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

### *Epenthesis of ḍ.*

§ 263. The epenthesis of *ḍ* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *paññaraha*, Pāli *pañcadasa*, Kaśm. *pandāh*, Ur. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōnēra*, Bihārī *pandarah*, Hindī *paṁdrah*, Panj. *paṁdarām*, Sindhī *paṁdraham*, *paṁdhrām*, Guj. *paṁdar*, Mar. *paṁdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānakī*.

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$dh = dh$ .

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pāli *dhavala*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Ur., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pāli *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiði* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōv*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*.

$dh > d$ .

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *d* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhatṭha*, Nāip. *dhūmtō*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, Sindhī *ḍīthu*.

$dh > ḍh$ .

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhatṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt.  $\sqrt{dhakk}$  'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkaṛi*, Ur. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāmkanā*, Bang. *ḍhākitē*, Hindī *ḍhakka*, Panj. *dhakkā*, Sindhī *ḍhakanu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāmkanum*, Mar. *dhāmkanēm*.

$dh > t$ .

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dharaṛi*, Pāli *dhārēti*, Simh. *terenavā*, *daranava*, Gyp.  $\sqrt{ther}$ .

$\bar{d}h > \bar{d}$ .

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian  $\bar{d}h$  is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharmā* 'virtue,' Prāk., Pāli *dhamma*, Kāśm. *daram*, Elu *daḥam*, Siṃh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattūra* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Ur. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhatūrā*, Sindhī *dhāturō*, Guj. *dhatūrō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhī *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōr*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

$\bar{d}h > bh$ .

§ 269. The change of  $\bar{d}h$  to  $bh$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sannirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sannirumbhati*, *sannirumbhati*.

$\bar{d}h > y$ .

§ 270. The change of  $\bar{d}h$  to  $y$  is only apparent,  $y$  being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic  $\bar{d}h$  (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Siṃh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhu* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *maḍu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

$\bar{d}h > l$ .

§ 271. The change of  $\bar{d}h$  to  $l$  is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *grhagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Wāxī *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

$dh > v$ .

§ 272. The change of  $dh$  to  $v$  is only apparent,  $v$  being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of  $dh$  (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Simh. *tulavaru*.

$dh > h$ .

§ 273. The change of  $dh$  to  $h$  is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āuśadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsadha*, Pāli *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhū* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pāli *sādhū*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāū*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pāli *badhira*, Ur. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōrō*, *bōdō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Simh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gāhum*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(m)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Ur. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

*Syncope of dh.*

§ 274. The loss of  $dh$  occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ur. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēum*, *gēhum*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīga*, *bīvā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaǰ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jīar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

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$n = n$ .

§ 275. Indo-Iranian  $n$  is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original  $n$  is usually cerebralized to  $ṇ$ .



a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav*, *nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *ṇāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Ur. *numāi*, Bang. *nām*, *nuya*, Hindī *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhī *naṁvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna*, *nāhāna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō*, *nav*, Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *nav*, *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$ .

§ 276. The change of *n* to  $\hat{n}$  is confined to the Sindhī, which alone preserves  $\hat{n}$ , pronounced *ṇg* and *ṇi* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Ur., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *thān*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhī *thaṇu*, *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindī *mannā*, Sindhī *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$ .

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to  $\eta$  throughout the Prākrits (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *naḍī*, New Ind. dialects *naḍī*, W. Bang. also *laḍī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacana*, Māhar. Prāk. *vayana*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gāthā *khanēt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēnu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhī *dhēnu*.

$n > b$ .

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

$n > m$ .

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Sīv. *bān*, Kāš. *bū(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$ .

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāü*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *tharai*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thanā*, Bihārī *ṭhāü(m)*, *thā(m)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhāünā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Simh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$ .

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāsm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vanā* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Simh. *val*, Maladive *vali*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Simh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$n > \underline{l}$ .

§ 282. The change of *n* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vali*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n > v$ .

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivīl*, *bēn*.

#### *Syncope of n.*

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhānu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(m)*, *ṭhā(m)v*, etc. (see § 280).

\* b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārin*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Sīv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pasīn* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašī*.

#### *Prothesis of n.*

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *āīnīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *āīnah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āsīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

#### *Epenthesis of n.*

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hasarəra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Afy. *sar*, Zaza *hanəsār*.

$$p = p.$$

§ 287. Indo-Iranian *p* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindī *pachē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Simh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. *✓pak*, *pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*. Skt. *✓chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *tipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *tēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *tōpanā*, *tīpanā*, *thapanā*, Sindhī *chāpanu*, *cāpanu*, *tapudānu*, *thapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpata-nēm*, *tāp*, *thapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pāli *japana* 'muttering,' Hindī *ja(m)panā*, Mar. *jāpanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pār*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *paδ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxī *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yayn. *āp*, Afγ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$$p > k.$$

§ 288. The change of *p* to *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika* (by dissimilation).

$$p > ph, f.$$

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *p* is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects *p* becomes *f* (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūcī, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paruṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda*, Pāli *phālibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindī *puhupa*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Ur. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhī *phāsī*, *phāhī*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afγ. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afγ. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tāl. *šav*, Tāt *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

$p > b$ .

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pāli *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *apāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāḍa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pāli (a)*pi*, Sindhī *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *thāvēi*, Pāli *thāpēti*, Ur. *thuibā*, Bang. *thārtē*, Hindī, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavun*, Mar. *thāpanēm*, Simh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabūtar*, Wāxī *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuwū*, Afγ. *kautar*,



*kavntar*, Bal. *kapōt*, *kqtar*, Kurd. *kavōk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Afy. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*.

$p > m$ .

§ 291. The change of  $p$  to  $m$  is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pāli *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīḍa* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēḍa*. Skt. *punah* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pāli *pana*, Bihārī *phin*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pāli *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kaṁchū*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāia*, Ur. *saüyāi*, Bang. *saüyā*, Hindī *savā*, W. Hindī *samā*, Panj. *savā(iā)*, Sindhī *savāi*, Guj. *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

$p > y$ .

§ 292. The change of  $p$  to  $y$ , which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindī *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

$p > v$ .

§ 293. The change of  $p$  to  $v$  is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian  $p$  is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of  $p$  to  $b$  and of  $b$  to  $v$  noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pāli *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pāli *pāpa*, Kaśm. *pāph*, Simh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhāa*,

*ujjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyū*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovv*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khawinjar*.

### *Syncope of p.*

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prāk. *ajjaṭṭa*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(m)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Ur. *kaṛta*, Hindī *kaṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

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$$ph = ph.$$

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Oss. *safthag*.

*ph* > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūcī, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūcī has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaḍiṅga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṅga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli \**phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ph* > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afy. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ph* > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *saphari*, Hindī *saharī*, Panj. *saül*.

*ph* > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūh*, but *kōvī* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

*ph* > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindī *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

*Syncope of ph.*

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saül*, etc. (see § 298).

*Epenthesis of ph, f.*

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciu*.

$$b = b.$$

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *baṁdhañ*, Pāli *baṁdhati*, Hindī *bāṁdh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhī *bāṁdh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhañ*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *saṁjhādi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *būjhana*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxšaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baxšīdan*, Afy. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bašag*, N. Bal. *baškay*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *bərəz* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*.

$$b > p.$$

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bādha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhauli) *pādha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bādha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

$$b > bh.$$

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

$$b > m.$$

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brāhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūidi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamaṁdha*, *kayaṁdha*.

$b > y$ .

§ 307. The change of  $b$  to  $y$ , which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayam̐dha*, *kamam̐dha*.

$b > v$ .

§ 308. The change of  $b$  to  $v$  is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused  $b$  and  $v$  that Vararuci writes  $v$  for  $b$  throughout. The New Indian dialects use  $v$  almost to the exclusion of  $b$  in the East, Hindī reverses this, writing every  $v$  as  $b$ , Panjābī uses  $b$  and  $v$  indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pāli *bappa*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pāli *vaṁjjhā*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, Sindhī *vāṁjh*, Marvarī *bāṁjhadē*, Guj. *vāṁjham*, Mar. *vāṁjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxī *buc*, *büc*, Šiyn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afy. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

*Syncope of b.*

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic  $b$  is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piaṛi*, Pāli *pibatī*, Simh. *bonavā*, caus. *povanavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

*Epenthesis of b.*

§ 310. The epenthesis of  $b$  is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of  $m$ .

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,



New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *δüm*, *δümbā*, Afγ. *lam*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

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*bh* = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prāk. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *bhūmi* 'earth,' Ur. *bhūma*, *bhūrim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūrim*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm*, *bhūrim*, *bhōrim*, Sindhī *bhū(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

*bh* > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*; is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiyn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Boxtanī *tāv*.

*bh* > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiwirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *ūrṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxī *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afγ. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafay*, Oss. *vafin*.

*bh* > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bhaṇṇī*, *bahinī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Kaśm. *byaṇ*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaūṇī*, Bang. *baṇ*, Hindī

*bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāinh*, Sindhī *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, Gyp. *phen*.

*bh* > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bhaṇḡā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *baraha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afy. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfay*, Kurd. *nāv*.

*bh* > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇaī*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

*bh* > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

*bh* > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Ur., Bang. *hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindī, Panj. *hōmḍī*, Sindhī *hamḍī*, Guj. *hāmḍī*, Mar. *hāmḍī*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahaī*, Pāli *labhati*, Ur. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindī *laha*, Hindī *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lāi*, Sindhī *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvaī*, *bhavaī*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōḍi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōḍi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Ur. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindī *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhī *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōṇēm*.

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*m* = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

*bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāinh*, Sindhī *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, Gyp. *phen*.

*bh* > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bharṅā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *baraha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afy. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfay*, Kurd. *nāv*.

*bh* > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇaī*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

*bh* > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

*bh* > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Ur., Bang. *hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindī, Panj. *hōmḍī*, Sindhī *hamḍī*, Guj. *hāmḍī*, Mar. *hāmḍī*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahaī*, Pāli *labhati*, Ur. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindī *laha*, Hindī *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lāi*, Sindhī *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvaī*, *bhavaī*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōḍi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōḍi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Ur. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindī *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhī *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōṇēm*.

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*m* = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

$m > b$ .

§ 323. The change of  $m$  to  $b$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kaśm. *mūmṣ*, Ur. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhāimṣ*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāimṣ*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāimṣ*, *mhāimṣ*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhī *mañjh*, *māmhi*, Guj. *bhēmṣ*, *bhāimṣ*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāimṣ*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < \**manurama-ka*, Sinh. *munuburu* ( $m > b$  by dissimilation).

$m > v$ .

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of  $m$  to  $v$  is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivaṇṇu*, *ahimaṇṇu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvara*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *mīmāṃs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vīvāṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Ur. *āmalā*, Bang. *āōlā*, *āūlā*, Hindī, Panj. *āmvalā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāmvar*, Hindī *sāmvalā*, W. Hindī *sāmvrāi*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhī *sāmvalu*, *sāmviru*, Mar. *sāmvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvī*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāim*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andēmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Siv., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vazaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāz* 'flight' beside *parvāz*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nīvēz*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afy. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *nīv*.

$m > s$ .

§ 325. The change of  $m$  to  $s$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

*bhasana*, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jāina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Ur. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmara*, Bihārī *bhāumrā*, Hindī *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Panj. *bhamur*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

$m > \dot{m}$ .

§ 326. The change of *m* to  $\dot{m}$  is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nām*, Panj. *nāim*, Sindhī *nāim*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Ur. *bhūma*, *bhūim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhōim*, *bhūm*, Sindhī *bhūim*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Simh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvam*, Hindī, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhī *lūm*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsām*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kaśm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūmām*, *dhūām*, Sindhī *dumhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Simh. *dum*.

$m > \dot{m}v$ .

§ 327. The change of *m* to  $\dot{m}v$  is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nām*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kumar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kumvar*, Panj. *kamvar*, Mar. *kumvar*.

*Syncope of m.*

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kaham*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāni*, *dānim*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions



*hidalōkika* 'temporal.' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' U<sub>r</sub>. *nia*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *nēv*, Panj. *niūm*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, U<sub>r</sub>. *camara*, Bang. *cāumr*, *camarā*, Hindī *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhī *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūām*, Hindī, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhū-mām*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindī *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gādumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *gantum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxī *γidīm*, Šiyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *zandam*, *zandum*, Sangl., Minj. *γandam*, Yidg. *γadum*, Afy. *γanum*, Bal. *gandīm*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanīm*.

### *Epenthesis of m, m̐.*

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *m̐*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jāina Prāk. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kaśm. *mūms*, Bang. *bhaṃs*, Bihārī *bhāims*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāims*, *mhāims*, Sindhī *maṃjh*, *māṃhi*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhaṃs*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāims*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuh*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kūmām*, *kūām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, U<sub>r</sub>. *chāhīna*, Bihārī *chāimh*, Hindī *chām*, *chāimv*, *chāimh*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāimv*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Simh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' U<sub>r</sub>., Old Bang., Hindī *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhī *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Simh. *laṃda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *prḍāku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afy. *nmunj*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvamz*, *gvabz*. New Pers.

*pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pōnz*, *pōz*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, *phōz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fing*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 3 s. pres. *hūmbēt*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbīdan*, Kurd. *nixiftin*.

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$$y = y.$$

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'fuit,' Sindhī *yabhanu*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dayālu* 'merciful,' Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhī *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhī *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. *(y)ilo*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yüγ*, Bal. *jōγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yangj*, Yayn. *yan*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yan*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāī*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afγ. *zēšī*, Bal. *zāyag*, N. Bal. *zāγ*, Kurd. *zāin*, Oss. *zayī*.

$$y > j.$$

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uriya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindī and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afγān, Balūcī, and Kurdish show frequent examples

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, Ur., Bang. *jē*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvāna*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jōbbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, Ur. *jēthā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindī *jahāni*, Panj. *jittthē*, Sindhī *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhām*, Mar. *jēthēm*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' Ur. *jibā*, Bang. *jāitē*, Hindī *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javum*, Mar. *yāṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

$y > b$ .

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pāli *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pāli *jalābu*, Simh. *dalabu*.

$y > bh$ .

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pāli *sarabhu*.

$y > r$ .

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pāli *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pāli *nahāru*, Simh. *naharaya*.

$y > l$ .

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭ(ī)*, *lāṭhī*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭ*, *lāṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayatī* 'illuminates,' Pāli

*jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti*. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

*y > v*.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava*. Skt. *trayas-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *tavattīsa*, Kaśm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāimtis*, cf. archaic Simh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āüha*, Pāis. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Simh. *avi(ya)*.

*y > h*.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chām̐h, chām̐(v), chāōm̐*, Panj. *cā(ü)m̐*, Sindhī *chām̐(v)*, Guj. *cām̐y*. Skt. *raṇaṇ-jaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇam̐jaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

### Apocope of *y*.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā*, Hindī *jūm̐*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xšmāka*, YAv. *yušmākam*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

### Syncope of *y*.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīaa, hīaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiāum̐, hiyām̐*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāū*, Pāli *vāyu*, Ur. *bōa*, Bang., Hindī *bāṛ, bāō*, Panj. *vāū*, Sindhī *bāṛ, vāū*, Guj. *vā(ṛ)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

*laya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēūl*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēūl*.

### *Prothesis of y.*

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śaur. Prāk. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvirbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvihottā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amiy*, New Pers. *am*, Afγ. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

*aya* > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Simh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

*aya* > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dhārēi*, Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śaur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēti*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nēi*, Śaur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *nēti*, Pāli *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindī, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khaī*. Skt.,



Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' Ur. *bhē*, Hindī, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhī *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindī, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhī *nēṇu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēmn*. Skt. *mayā* 'mother,' Simh. *maṇṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Simh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *zayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmīr dialects *zīd*.

*ayū > ō*.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kāśm., Ur. *mōr*, Sindhī *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

*ayō > ē, āi*.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē, āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Girnar), Pāli *tērasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindī *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

*iya > ĩ*.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ĩ* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < \**kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

*āya > ā*.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upatthāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upatthāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

*āya* > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *palēti*.

*āya* > *ai*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *ai* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsnun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *naïn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raïn*.

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*r* = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māg. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindī *rāū*, *rāv*, Simh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāu-hurā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyün*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(ih)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afγ. *rvaγ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxī *stār*, Šiyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afγ. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μapri-χόπα*, Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>artanō*, New Pers. *xurđan*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x<sup>v</sup>aram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afγ. *x<sup>v</sup>aral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x<sup>v</sup>ārin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$ .

§ 350. The change of  $r$  to  $j$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindī *pūjna*, Sindhī *pujānu*.

$r > ḍh$ .

§ 351. The change of  $r$  to  $ḍh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$ .

§ 352. The change of  $r$  to  $d$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pāli *purin-dada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$ .

§ 353. The change of  $r$  to  $n$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxī *vaḍūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afγ. *mangarai*.

$r > l$ .

§ 354. The change of  $r$  to  $l$  is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian  $r$  is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prākrit  $r$  becomes  $l$  everywhere. Similarly in the Prākrit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasarām, and Bairāt  $r$  becomes  $l$  throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth  $r$  occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rāī*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pāli *rattī*, Ur., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carana* 'foot,' Prāk. *calana*, Śaur. Prāk. also *carana*, Apab. Prāk. *calanu*, Pāis. Prāk. *calana*, Pāli *carana*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pāli *hālidda*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pāli *paligha*. Skt. *rējju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindī *lējurī*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattālīsa*,

*cāālisa*, Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattarisa*, Kaśm. *čatajih*, Ur. *cālisa*, Bang. *callisa*, Bihārī *cālis*, Hindī *cālīs*, Panj. *cālī*, Sindhī *cālīh*, Guj., Mar. *cālīs*, Simh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṭ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxtanō*, Pāz. *rēžēd*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētmūn*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxī *varicam*, Sarq. *varaizam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *lējun*, Tag. *lījīn*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāš. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sūlāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > \underline{l}$ .

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṅgālā*, Pāli *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgāl(ā)*, *iṅgōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattārisa*, Panj. *cālī*, Simh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhī *chāru*, Simh. (*h*)*alu*, Maladive *hulu*.

#### Syncope of *r*.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agar* 'if,' Sīv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāš. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāš. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

*ba.* Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *mā*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *mōr*, *māar*, Tāl. *mū*, Šīyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afy. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

### *Epenthesis of r.*

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindī *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāšītan*, Afy. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afy. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ažē dahāk*, New Pers. *aždahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *aždarha*, *aždaha*.

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$$l = l.$$

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpaī*, Pāli *limpati*, Ur. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindī *līp*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhī *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Ur. *āmalā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindī *āmvalā*, Panj. *āulā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calaī*, Pāli *calati*, Ur., Bang. *cāl*, Hindī *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhī *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *cal*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhī *pipiru*, Guj. *pipal*, Mar. *pimpal*.



b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt *lov*, Wāxī *lav*, *lafē*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxī *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. *λείχω*, Lith. *lēžiù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *yar*, Afy. *yāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

$l > d$ .

§ 359. The change of *l* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *padāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇidāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tād*, *tār*.

$l > n$ .

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uriya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṅgala*, *laṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Simh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇidāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāsm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōṇ*, *nōṇ*, Hindī *nōṇ*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *lunṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nutī*, Hindī *lūt*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhalī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

$l > r$ .

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvara*, Pāli *ya-mala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindī *pīpar*, Sindhī *pipiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāmvar*, Hindī *sāmvalā*, W. Hindī *sāmvrāi*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhī *sāmviru*, *sāmvalu*, Mar. *sāmvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

$l > \underline{l}$ .

§ 362. The change of  $l$  to  $\underline{l}$  occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kālā*, Ur. *kalā*, Bang., Hindī *kālā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhī *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kalu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Ur., Panj. *thal*, Sindhī *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Ur. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindī *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhī *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

#### *Syncope of l.*

§ 363. The syncope of an original  $l$  is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiñculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kiñculaē*, Bihārī *kēñcuvā*, *kēñcvā*. Skt. *balivardā* 'bull,' Prāk. *bailla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. *(k)khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

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$v = v$ .

§ 364. Indo-Iranian  $v$  remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vattikā*, Ur. *batī*, Bang. *bātī*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *batī*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *viñchia*, *viñchua*, *viñcua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Ur. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindī *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhī *bichūm*, *viñchū*, Guj. *viñchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *viñcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paīṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.

*pāvan*, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindī *paṭn*, Panj. *paṭn*, Guj. *pōn*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prāk. *naṭim*, Pāli *navuti*, Kāśm. *namath*, Ur. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbaṭ*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindī, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhī *navē*, Guj. *nēvum*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcarəhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afγ. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiyn. *δīv*, Sarq. *dēv*.

$v > \check{u}$ .

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to *ū* is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paṭṇa*, Hindī *paṭn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paṭn*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnat*, New Pers. *bīnad*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vīnam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afγ. *vīnam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yayn. *yaū*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yaū*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

$v > k$ .

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

$v > g$ .

§ 367. The change of  $v$  to  $g$  occurs regularly before  $u$  in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vītarəta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtanō*, New Pers. *guḏaštan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vön. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhūrtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Phl., New Pers. *gurg*, Kāš. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yayn. *aurak*, Afγ. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *bīray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gāštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *varəzeyeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. *\*vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. *\*vγ* > Mid. Pers. *\*vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

$v > gh, \gamma$ .

§ 368. The change of  $v$  to  $gh, \gamma$ , is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

$v > gv$ .

§ 369. The change of  $v$  to  $gv$  is regular initially before  $a$ -vowels in Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvas*.

$v > n$ .

§ 370. The change of  $v$  to  $n$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabē* (assimilation).

$v > ph, f$ .

§ 371. The change of  $v$  to  $ph, f$ , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

$v > b$ .

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *suvr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kaśm. *vār*, *vād*, Ur. *bēḍhā*, *bhēḍā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēḍhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *vēr̥hā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsī*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kaśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Ur., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaddā*, W. Panj. *baddā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Kāš. *vīd*, *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxī *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afy. *varyaḡ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsroḅ*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

$v > bh$ .

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.



a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, Ur., Bang., *bhāp*, Hindī *bhāph*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Ur. *bhēḍā*, *bēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$v > m$ .

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāum*, *jāmahim*, *tāma*, *tāum*, *tāmahim*, Pāli *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāiśravaṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vēsamaṇa*. Skt. *viññaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minatī*, E. Hindī *mintī*, Hindī *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhī *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pāli *nava*, Kaśm. *nāu(m)*, Ur. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindī *nāu*, Panj. *nāum*, *naüm*, Sindhī *namvam*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Simh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' +  $\sqrt{\text{varəz}}$  'do,' New Pers. *parvāz* 'plough,' Bux. *parmāz*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxī *volc*, Afy. *maraz*, *nvaraz*, Bal. *guardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

$v > y$ .

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payatṭaī*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhī *dēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jutanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Afy. *šōyal*, *šōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

*Syncope of v.*

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pāli *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhī *ḍimhu*, Mar. *divas*, Simh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōvimśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvīsa*, Pāli *tēvīsa(tī)*, Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhī *trēvīli*, Guj. *trēvīś*, Mar. *tēvīs*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvaṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēś*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γü*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afγ. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukrī *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvarə* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bīra*.

### *Prothesis of v.*

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccaī*, Šāur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *ruttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *azəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afγ. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (h)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ὄον* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afγ. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha'ik*, *hā*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

### *Epenthesis of v.*

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā*, *chāyā*, Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chām̐v*, *chām̐(h)*, *chāōm̐*, Panj. *cā(u)m̐*, Sindhī *chām̐v*, *chām̐*, Guj. *cāmy*.

$\check{a}v\check{a} > \check{a}$ .

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of  $\check{a}v\check{a}$  to  $\check{a}$  occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prāk. *pabhavaṛi*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prāk. *sambhavaṛi*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyat*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

$ava > \check{u}$ .

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to  $\check{u}$  occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Ur. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

$ava > \bar{e}$ .

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to  $\bar{e}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Simh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāš. *muhdō*, Tāt *nüf*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yayn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

$ava > \bar{o}$ .

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to  $\bar{o}$  is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Ur., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*,

Sindhī *lūnu*, Guj. *lūn*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. (b)*hōdi*, (b)*huvadi*, (b)*havadi*, Māg. Prāk. (b)*havaī*, *huvai*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Ur. *hē*, Sindhī *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jāina Prāk. *samōsadha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panj., Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Tag. Oss. *nvog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avaḍa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōdā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afy. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

*āva > au*.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhī *āutāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yangj*, Yāyn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

*avi > ē*.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(adā)*.

*avi > āi*.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\bar{a}va > \bar{o}$ .

§ 386. The contraction of  $\bar{a}va$  to  $\bar{o}$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zavara* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(īh)*, New Pers. *zōr*.

$\bar{a}vay > \bar{e}, ai$ .

§ 387. The contraction of  $\bar{a}vay$  to  $\bar{e}, ai$ , is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē, kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

$\bar{a}vi > \bar{a}$ .

§ 388. The contraction of  $\bar{a}vi$  to  $\bar{a}$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āškārāk*, New Pers. *āškār(ā), āškārah*, Afy. *xkāra*.

$i\bar{v}\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ .

§ 389. The contraction of  $i\bar{v}\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{o}$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōsī, paḍōsī, parōsī*.

$i\bar{v}\bar{e} > \bar{o}$ .

§ 390. The contraction of  $i\bar{v}\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{o}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

$\bar{i}va > \bar{i}$ .

§ 391. The contraction of  $\bar{i}va$  to  $\bar{i}$  is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *šivas-tanō*, New Pers. *šistan*, Kurd. *šin, šīn*. Phl. *dipīvar* 'scribe,' *dipīr(īh)*, New Pers. *dībīr*.

$\bar{e}v\check{a} > \bar{i}$ .

§ 392. The contraction of  $\bar{e}v\check{a}$  to  $\bar{i}$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *dīr, dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.



*uva* > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardī*.

*uva* > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. \**vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durōd*.

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*ś* = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākārī alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindī and Sindhī indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kaśm. *hat*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *ṣel*. Skt. *śīrsa* 'head,' Prāk. *sīsa*, *sissa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Elu *hisa*, Simh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Ass. *ṣīt*, Kaśm. *śīth*, Ur. *aśī*, Bang. *āśī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmśī*. Skt. *dēśīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēśīya*, Ur., Bang. *dēśī(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēsī*, Sindhī *dēsī*, *dēhārī*, Guj., Mar. *dēśī*.

*ś* > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāvaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Ur. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(m)*, Hindī *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

*chavō*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śēṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Ur. *chana*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > ḍ.

§ 397. The change of ś to ḍ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kaśm. *hāk* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of ś to y is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauḷi, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvāḍasāvasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of ś to v is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *parasu*, Siṃh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of ś (cf. § 402).]

ś > s.

§ 400. The change of ś to s is the regular one to which Indian ś is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prāk. *sōhañ*, Pāis. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śuśruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *em̐sī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Ur. *śila*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *sil*, Sindhī *sir*, Mar. *sil*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of ś to h is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pāli *dasa*, Kaśm. *dah*, Ur., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindī *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhī *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Simh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deṣ*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *sastrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindī (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśarī* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *kēsarī*, Bihārī *kēharī*, *kēsarī*, Hindī *kēharī*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhī *kēharī*, Guj. *kēsarī*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhī *phāhī*, *phāsī*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Elu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

*Apocope and syncope of ś.*

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian ś occurs frequently in the Simhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Simh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pāli *siṅga*, Hindī *sīng*, Mar. *śīng*, Elu *samgu*, *aṃgu*, Simh. *aṃga*, *si(m)gu*, *sumgu*. Skt. *śīśira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pāli *sisira*, Simh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pāli *lasuna*, Simh. *lūnu*.

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$$\dot{\text{ś}} = \text{ś}.$$

§ 403. The retention of Indian ś is found only in Kaśmīrī, Uriya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Kaśm. *ṣurāh*. Ur. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Simh. *solosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Ur. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

$$\dot{\text{ś}} > kh.$$

§ 404. In Hindī and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian ś is pronounced *kh*, even if ś be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pāli *bhāsā*, Nāip.

*bhās*, *bhākkā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhākhā*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhī *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

ṣ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of ṣ to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kaśm. *ṣah*, *śih*, Ur. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhī *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(ā)*, Old Simh. *caka*, Simh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣatpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jāina Prāk. *chappaya*.

ṣ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of ṣ to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karīsa*, Simh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

ṣ > ś.

§ 407. The change of ṣ to ś occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *aṇṇēśanti*. Skt. *ālābhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiśamti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiśamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisaṃti* Dhauli, *ālābhiyisaṃti* Jaugada, *ālābhiyisaṃti* Khālsi).

ṣ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of ṣ to *s* is the normal one to which Indian ṣ is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Simh. *solosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐dh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐d*. Skt. *vṛṣābha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasāha*,

*usaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *puriṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

$\text{ṣ} > h$ .

§ 409. The change of  $\text{ṣ}$  to  $h$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jaina Prāk. *ēgahatṭhi*, *ēgasatṭhi*, *ēgayatṭhi*, *ēgavatṭhi*, *ēgatṭhi*, Kaśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhī *ēkahatṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhī *viḥu*.

$s = s$ .

§ 410. Indo-Iranian  $s$  is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian  $s$  normally becomes  $h$ . Iranian  $s$ , arising from Indo-Germanic  $\hat{k}$  (Old Indian  $\acute{s}$ , see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *simha*, Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śimhu*, other New Ind. dialects *simh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, E. Hindī *tīsī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sür(ē)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vōn. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khasthar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *δīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *δēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dar*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πισάγας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aj)*.

$s > ch$ .

§ 411. The change of  $s$  to  $ch$  is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siñcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *simcāi*, Pāli *siñcati*, Bihārī *chīmāi*, *simcāi*, Mar. *simcaṇēm*.

$s > j(h)$ .

§ 412. The change of  $s$  to  $j(h)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hamsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *hamsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhī *hamj(h)u*, Simh. *has*.

$s > t$ .

§ 413. The change of  $s$  to  $t$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax<sup>n</sup>ārē* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *κόρος* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. *ἀπ. λεγ. θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

$s > th, \theta$ .

§ 414. The change of  $s$  to  $th, \theta$ , occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxī *sökr*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sör*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *κόρος* 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

$s > d$ .

§ 415. The change of  $s$  to  $d$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*, Simh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* ( $d$  for  $s$  by false analogy with Simh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).



$s > v$ .

§ 416. The change of  $s$  to  $v$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *ḍav*, etc. (see § 410).

$s > ś$ .

§ 417. The change of  $s$  to  $ś$  is very rare. In East Hindī  $ś$  is often written for  $s$ , although  $s$  is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of  $s$  to  $ś$  is regular in Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Śākārī Prākṛit, and the Avantikā Prākṛit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśē*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anuśāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśaśana*, Māhār. Prāk. *anusāsana*, Pāli *anusāsana*.

$s > ṣ$ .

§ 418. The change of  $s$  to  $ṣ$ , apart from the regular development in Old Indian of  $ṣ$  from  $s$  after  $ĩ$ ,  $ũ$ ,  $ṛ$ ,  $ē$ ,  $ō$ , is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyaṣi*.

$s > š$ .

§ 419. The change of Iranian  $s$  to  $š$  is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *afsān*, dialectic *šān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, Kurd. *šūžin*, *sužin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afy. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*.

*s* > *z*.

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūirya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *zurnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *paz*, Wāxī *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afγ. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>asura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxī *xurs*, Afγ. *sxar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xazūr*, *xazūr*, *xaur*.

*s* > *h*.

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *haka*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Simhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Simh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ēkasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kaśm. *akasatath*, Ur. *ēkastōri*, Bang. *ēkāttar*, Bihārī *ēkahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ēkahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ēkahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Simh. *hättāva*, *sättāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Simh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

#### *Aphaeresis and syncope of s.*

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *sīai*, *sadai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Simh. *imḍīnavā*, *hiṁḍīnavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Simh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>asura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xazūr*, *xazīr*, etc. (see § 420).

š = ś.

§ 423. Iranian ś remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutha*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl. *gōš*, New Pers. *gōš*, Šir. *guš*, Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γüš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaž*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl. *rēš*, New Pers. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

š > c, č.

§ 424. The change of š to c, č, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxī *cauam*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

š > j.

§ 425. The change of š to j is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bizišk*.

š > l.

§ 426. The change of š to l is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

š > s.

§ 427. The change of š to s is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiyn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Sīv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > z.

§ 428. The change of š to z occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *zik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxī *šāδ*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afy. *špaž*, Oss. *axsaz*.

š > ž.

§ 429. The change of š to ž is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūž*, Afy. *γvaž*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *virç*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanō*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukužim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ah)*, Citrālī *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxī *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarža*, Afy. *žīra*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rīxī*.

#### Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

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z = z.

§ 432. Iranian z remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afy. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ažnōh*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gīl. *zīl*, Šiyn. *zrāδ*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *maēzənti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēzētānō*, New Pers. *mēzī-*

*dan*, Afy. *mītal*, Bal. *mīšay*, *mēzay*, Kurd. *mīztin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mēzun*, Tag. *mīzin*. New Pers. *pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(ñ)z*, N. Bal. *phōñz*, Kurd. *pōz*, *pūz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fing*.

$z > \check{z}$ .

§ 433. The change of *z* to  $\check{z}$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zanva* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiyn. *zingū*, Sarq. *zangān*, Afy. *jana*, *zana*. Afy. *jōē* 'son' beside *zōē* (from  $\sqrt{zan}$  'to be born').

$z > s$ .

§ 434. The change of *z* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

$z, \check{z} > \check{s}$ .

§ 435. The change of *z*,  $\check{z}$  to  $\check{s}$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāžah*, *kāšah*.

$z > \check{z}$ .

§ 436. The change of *z* to  $\check{z}$  is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl. *zam*, New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

$z > h$ .

§ 437. The change of *z* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāz*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāz*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

*Syncope of z.*

§ 438. The loss of internal *z* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāz*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ž} = \text{ž}.$$

§ 439. Iranian *ž* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Phl. *žūžak*, New Pers. *žūžah*, Gab. *jujīk*.

$$\text{ž} > \gamma.$$

§ 440. The change of *ž* to *γ* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Afγ. *dōyaš*, *dōžax*, *dōzax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ž} > j.$$

§ 441. The change of *ž* to *j* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujīk*, etc. (see § 439).

$$\text{ž} > \text{š}.$$

§ 442. The change of *ž* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of *ž* to *š* occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for *ž*, and employs the character for *š* instead).

$$\text{ž} > z.$$

§ 443. The change of *ž* to *z* is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian *ž* is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōzax*, *dōžax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, etc. (see § 439).

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$$h = h.$$

§ 444. Indian *h* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian *h* (corresponding to Indian *s*) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.



a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kaśm. *ath*, Ur. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Simh. *ata*. Skt. *hrdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiaüm*, Sindhī *himamū*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahaṁgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahaṁgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Ur. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhī *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxī *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šiyn. *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valjag*.

$h > k$ .

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Simh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

$h > kh, x$ .

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Sīv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxī *vask*, Yidg. *ūšk*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxī *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afy. *xūg*, Bal. *hāk*, N. Bal. *hāx*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yayn. *ītk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dēžē*.

$h > c$ .

§ 447. The change of  $h$  to  $c$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Sīv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$ .

§ 448. The change of  $h$  to  $ph, f$ , is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Sīv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$ .

§ 449. The change of  $h$  to  $bh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk., Pāli *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$ .

§ 450. The change of  $h$  to  $v$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *vūvd*, ( $h$ )*ub*, *hüb*, Šiyn. *vūvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$ .

§ 451. The vocalization of  $h$  to  $y, i$ , occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxī *mūi*, Šiyn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afγ. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *mayā*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$ .

§ 452. The change of  $h$  to  $s$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika* (but Pāli *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$ .

§ 453. The change of  $h$  to  $š$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmūnš*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmāš*, *nīmā*.

$h > z, \check{z}$ .

§ 454. The change of  $h$  to  $z, \check{z}$ , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāž*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nimāž*, *nimā*, etc. (see preceding §).

### *Aphaeresis of h.*

§ 455. The loss of initial  $h$  is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kāsm. *ath*, Simh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *ub*, *hub*, *hüb*, *vūvd*, Sarq. *üvd*, Minj. *ēδ*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāš. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ušk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Afy. *ǰ-*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*.

### *Syncope of h.*

§ 456. The loss of internal  $h$  is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *bhaspadī*, Ur. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihaphāi*. Skt. *gēhinī* 'woman,' Prāk. *gharinī*, Simh. *gāni*, *girini*. Skt. *vr̥hi* 'rice,' Pāli *vīhi*, Simh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Siv. *fīn*, Wāxī *vuxan*, Šiyn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

*Apocope of h.*

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīš*, etc. (see § 453).

*Prothesis of h.*

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prāk. *dāni(m)*. Skt. *ēdrśa* 'of that kind,' Prāk. *ērīsa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēdrīsa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hētā*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prāk., Pāli *otṭha*, Ur. *ōṭha*, Bang. *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpat*, lit. Phl. *hērpāt*, *ērpāt*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

*Epenthesis of h.*

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Ur. *mahana*, Hindī *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *yah*, *ša*, Afγ. *šā*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *ših*.

## CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281–282 (cf. 359–360), into the ‘strong, weak, and mixed nexus’ is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

$kt > k(k)$ .

§ 461. The assimilation of *kt* to *k(k)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pāli *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pāli *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

$kt > gḍ, γḍ$ .

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gḍ, γḍ*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxī *naγḍ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγḍ*.

$ktz > γz, zγ$ .

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz, zγ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suγzarina*, Tag. *siγyarin*.

$kt > t(t)$ .

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t(t)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pāli *bhatta*, Kaśm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, W. Hindī *bhāt*, Panj. *bhatt*,



Sindhī *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pāli *mutta*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *matī*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pāli *ratta*, Ur., Bang. *rakta*, Hindī *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Simh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtanō* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtan*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtan*, Māg. *sūt*, Gīl. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējāl*, *svaḡavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *suhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōḡun*, Tag. *sōḡin*.

*kt* > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht*, *ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūftan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtan*.

*kt* > *ht*.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pākta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pōšt*, Šīyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *suhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

*ktr* > *lkh*, *lx*.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh*, *lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

*ktr* > *hr*.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxdra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

*kth* > *(t)th*.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to *(t)th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prāk., Pāli *sittha*, Hindī *sīth*, *sīth*, Panj. *sēth*, *sēt*, Mar. *sīt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pāli *satthi*.

$kn > nn$ .

§ 470. The assimilation of  $kn$  to  $nn$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaṛi*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

$km > m(m)$ .

§ 471. The assimilation of  $km$  to  $m(m)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukṃavatī* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummavatī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *\*staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitahmak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *töym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

$km > gm, \gamma m$ .

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group  $km$  to  $gm, \gamma m$ , is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *töym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, etc. (see preceding §).

$km > p(p)$ .

§ 473. The assimilation of  $km$  to  $p(p)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukminī* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiṇī*.

$ky > k(k)$ .

§ 474. The assimilation of  $ky$  to  $k(k)$  occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokka*.

$kr > k(k)$ .

§ 475. The assimilation of  $kr$  to  $k(k)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Ur. *caka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *cāk*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Simh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

$kr > r(r)$ .

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Sīv. *sūr*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sūr*, Wāxī *sökr*, Šiyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

$kr > hr$ .

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahraḥ*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cūr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$kl > l(l)$ .

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pāli *kilittṭha*, Simh. *leḍa*.

$kv > k(k)$ .

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāsm. *papī*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

$kṣ > k(k)$ .

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pāli *bubhukkhati*, Hindī

*bhūkh*, Sindhī *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *zu*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Simh. *kīri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxī *maks*, Minj. *muya*, Afγ. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

*kṣ* > *kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(m)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(m)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhī *makhi*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *maklū*, *māśī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhina*, *dāhina*, Pāli *dakkhina*, Kaśm. *dachan*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Bang. *dāin*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhī *dakhinō*, Mar. *dākhīn*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*, Kaśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *paṁkh* 'wing,' *pāhīm* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhī*, *pāṁchī*, Panj. *pāṁchī*, Sindhī *paṁgu*, Guj. *pāṁchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pāṁchī*, Simh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kaš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yayn. *xišap*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axsav*.

*kṣ* > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *axsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

*kṣ* > *g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

$kṣ > c(c)$ .

§ 484. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $c(c)$  is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Ur. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kudā*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. \**xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$kṣ > (c)ch$ .

§ 485. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $(c)ch$  is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, Ur. *richa*, Bihārī *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(m)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kaśm. *khīt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Ur. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetri*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$kṣ > j, (j)jh$ .

§ 486. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $j, (j)jh$ , is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīṇa*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjā*, Mar. *jhij*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$kṣ > s(s)$ .

§ 487. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $s(s)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Ur. *ākhu*, Bang. *āku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *īkh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *rīs*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khaṇa*, *chaṇa* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindī *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Simh. *sāṇa*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sāṇdā*.

$kṣ > ś(ṣ)$ .

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšīr*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > h(h)$ .

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h(h)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāikṣa* 'novice,' Jaina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' *paṁkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhīṇa*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Hindī *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > z(z)$ .

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *z(z)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *zu*, etc. (see § 480).

*Aphaeresis of kṣ.*

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhī *chāru*, Simh. *alu*, *halu*, Maladive *hulu*.

$kṣn > n, n$ .

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *n, n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afγ. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.



$k\check{s}n > \check{s}n$ .

§ 493. The assimilation of  $k\check{s}n$  to  $\check{s}n$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

$k\check{s}n > hn$ .

§ 494. The assimilation of  $k\check{s}n$  to  $hn$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

$gdh > t(t)$ .

§ 495. The assimilation of  $gdh$  to  $t(t)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *dod*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdḥ*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdḥ*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxī *ḍōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afγ. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dūčīn*.

$gdh > d(d)$ .

§ 496. The assimilation of  $gdh$  to  $d(d)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

$gdh > ddh$ .

§ 497. The assimilation of  $gdh$  to  $ddh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdḥ*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdḥ*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pāli *muddha*.

$gn > g(g), \gamma$ .

§ 498. The assimilation of  $gn$  to  $g(g), \gamma$ , is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *giṇi*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Ur. *naṃgalā*, Bang. *nēmtā*, Bihārī *naṃg*, Hindī, Panj. *naṃgā*, Sindhī *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāguṃ*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṃgā*, Gyp. *nangō* (cf. also Kaśm. *naṃrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyün*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

*gn* > *n(n)*.

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

*Syncope and apocope of gn.*

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

*gm* > *m(m)*.

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgəmat* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymat*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

*gy* > *g(g)*.

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaṛi*, Pāli *laggati*, Kaśm.  $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$ , Hindī *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhī *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

$gr > g(g)$ .

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Ur. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *āgē*, Panj. *aggū*, Sindhī *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

$ghr > (g)gh$ .

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīghra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Simh. *vag*.

$ghr > r(r)$ .

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr(ik)*.

$ṛk > ṛg$ .

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryarṇka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Śaur. Prāk. *palamka*, Pāli *pallarṇka*, *pariyarṇka*, Ass. *pālerṅ*, Nāip. *palanṅ*, Ur. *palamk*, Bang. *pālāṅg*, *pālamk*, Bihārī *palaṅg*, *pālakī*, Hindī *palaṅg*, Panj. *palaṅgh*, Sindhī *palaṅgu*, Guj., Mar. *palaṅg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *karṇakaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṁkaṇa*, Ass. *karṇan*, *kāṛkan*, Kaśm. *karṇkāin*, *karṇum*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁgan*, E. Hindī *kaṁgan*, *kaṁkan*, *kāṁkan*, Hindī *kaṁgan*, *kaṁkan*, Panj. *kaṁgan*, Sindhī *karṇaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṁgan*.

*ṛkt > ṁt.*

§ 507. The assimilation of *ṛkt* to *ṁt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *parṛkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *paṁti*, Bihārī *pāṁti*.

*ṛkh > k(h).*

§ 508. The assimilation of *ṛkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṛkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sī(m)-kar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṁgharō*, Guj. *sāṁghal*, Mar. *sā(m)khal*, *sikrī*.

*ṛkh > ṛgh, ṁgh.*

§ 509. The softening of *ṛkh* to *ṛgh, ṁgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṛkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṁgharō*, Guj. *sāṁghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ṛg > g(g).*

§ 510. The assimilation of *ṛg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṛgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṁgala*, *ṇaṁgala*, Pāli *naṁgala*, Bang. *nāṁgal*, Bihārī *lāṁgal*, Mar. *nāṁgar*, Simh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lāṛgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṁgūla*, Simh. *nagal*, *nakuta*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

*ṛg > ṛgh.*

§ 511. The aspirization of *ṛg* to *ṛgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṛgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṛghal*, Sindhī *jhaṛgu* < \**jaṛghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṁgal*, Old Hindī also *jaṁgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

*cch* > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *cch* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *prcchatī* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchittā*, Pāli *ucchittā*.

*cy* > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accuta*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavañ*, Pāli *cavati*, Ur. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhī *cuhāṇu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēm*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaṇ*, Pāli *vuccati*.

*cv* > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Wāxī *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afy. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

*jñ* > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Ur., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindī *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindī *jāg*, Panj. *jagg*, Sindhī *jaḡu*, Mar. *jāg*.

*jñ* > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uriya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *dny*. Sindhī usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāis. Prāk. *ṇāṇa*, Pāli *jāṇa*, Ur., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *gāṇō*), Hindī,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhī *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*. Skt. *ājñā* 'command,' Prāk. *āṇā*, Pāli *aññā*, Hindī *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhī *āgyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

$jñ > j(j)$ .

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāli *jāṇa*, Sindhī *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *savvajja*, *savvaṇṇu*, Śaur. Prāk. *savvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, Pāis. Prāk. *savvañña*.

$jñ > ñ(ñ)$ .

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāis. Prāk. *savvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, Pāli *viññāna*.

$jñ > ṇ(ṇ)$ .

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindī *rāñī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāñī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

$jñ > n(n)$ .

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pāli *ñāti*, Simh. *nā*.

$jy > j(j)$ .

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pāli *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtānō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Gab.



*jovādmūn*, Afγ. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, Kurd. *jūn* (cf. Old Bulg. *živati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

$jy > (j)jh$ .

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to  $(j)jh$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)yā*.

$jy > z(z), ž(ž)$ .

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to  $z(z)$ , or  $ž(ž)$ , is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afγ. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ža*, Afγ. *žai*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.

$jv > j(j)$ .

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to  $j(j)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Ur. *jvalibā*, Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *jalāṇā*, *bālanā*, Sindhī *jalāṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jalavum*, Mar. *jalāṇēm*, Simh. *dala*.

$jv > (j)jh$ .

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to  $(j)jh$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaī*, Pāli *jalati*, Ur. *jhalakanā*, Sindhī *jhalakaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēm*.

$jv > d(d)$ .

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to  $d(d)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Simh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

$jv > b(b)$ .

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to  $b(b)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *bālanā*, *jalāṇā*, Sindhī *bāraṇu*, *jalāṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhī *bar*.

$\hat{n}c > \text{ŋ}g$ .

§ 528. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\text{ŋ}g$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxī *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afγ. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

$\hat{n}c > c(c)$ .

§ 529. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $c(c)$  occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Kāsm. *pañčah*, Ur. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindī *pacās*, Panj., Sindhī *pañjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pañṇās*, Simh. *panaha*.

$\hat{n}c > j(j)$ .

§ 530. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $j(j)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuṇcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuṁjī*, Kāsm. *kuṇz*, Ur. *kuji*, *kuṁcī*, *kuṁjhī*, Bang. *kūjī*, *kūṁjī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kuṁjī*, Guj. *kuṁcī*, Mar. *kuṁjī*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}j$ .

§ 531. The softening of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\hat{n}j$  is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṇcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuṁjī*, Bang. *kū(m)jī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Mar. *kuṁjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiyn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afγ. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$ .

§ 532. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$  occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > \text{ŋ}(\text{ŋ})$ .

§ 533. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\text{ŋ}(\text{ŋ})$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > n(n)$ .

§ 534. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Simh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > s(s)$ .

§ 535. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $s(s)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcana*, Pāli *kañcana*, Simh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kaśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *pāmc*, Panj., Sindhī *pāmj*, Guj., Mar. *pāmc*, Simh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\hat{n}c > h(h)$ .

§ 536. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $h(h)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Simh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\hat{n}j > m̃d$ .

§ 537. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}j$  to  $m̃d$  is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjana*, Pāli *añjana*, Simh. *aṃduna*.

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$\check{d}g > g(g)$ .

§ 538. The assimilation of  $\check{d}g$  to  $g(g)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khaṃḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāṃḍ*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khāṃḍ*.

$\check{d}g > \check{d}(\check{d})$ .

§ 539. The assimilation of  $\check{d}g$  to  $\check{d}(\check{d})$  is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Ur. *khaṃḍā*, Hindī *khāṃḍ*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārum*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\check{d}g > n(n)$ .

§ 540. The assimilation of  $\check{d}g$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$n\dot{t} > \dot{t}(t)$ .

§ 541. The assimilation of  $n\dot{t}$  to  $\dot{t}(t)$  is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇ-  
t(h)aka*, Ass. *kāmṭi*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Ur. *kaṇṭā*,  
*kāmṭā*, Bang. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindī *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhī *kaṇḍā*,  
Guj. *kāmṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$n\dot{t} > \dot{d}(ḍ)$ .

§ 542. The assimilation of  $n\dot{t}$  to  $\dot{d}(ḍ)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhī  
*kāmḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n\dot{t} > nḍ$ .

§ 543. The softening of  $n\dot{t}$  to  $nḍ$  occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp.  
*kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$n\dot{t}h' > n\dot{t}$ .

§ 544. The deaspirization of  $n\dot{t}h$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kaśm. *śōṇṭ*, Ur., Bang.  
*śuṇṭha*, Hindī *sōmṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, Guj.  
*suṇṭh*.

$n\dot{t}h > nḍh$ .

§ 545. The softening of  $n\dot{t}h$  to  $nḍh$  is the most usual change of  
all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhī  
*suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nḍ > \dot{d}(ḍ)$ .

§ 546. The assimilation of  $nḍ$  to  $\dot{d}(ḍ)$  is not uncommon in the  
Indian dialects,

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kaśm. *khaḍak*, Ur.  
*khaṇḍā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhī *khanō*,  
Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāmḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of  
lizard,' Pāli *dedḍubha*.

$n\dot{d} > n\dot{d}$ .

§ 547. The decerebralization of  $n\dot{d}$  is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rāmri*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmd*.

$n\dot{d} > n(n)$ .

§ 548. The assimilation of  $n\dot{d}$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṇḍā*.

$n\dot{d}h > \dot{d}(\dot{d})$ .

§ 549. The assimilation of  $n\dot{d}h$  to  $\dot{d}(\dot{d})$  is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāmri*, Bang. *ṣāmri*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāmri*, Panj. *sāmdh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāmd*.

$n\dot{d}h > n(n)$ .

§ 550. The assimilation of  $n\dot{d}h$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n\dot{d}h > m̐r$ .

§ 551. The assimilation of  $n\dot{d}h$  to  $m̐r$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sāmri*, etc. (see § 549).

$n\dot{d}h > m̐h$ .

§ 552. The assimilation of  $n\dot{d}h$  to  $m̐h$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$n\dot{y} > \hat{n}j$ .

§ 553. The assimilation of  $n\dot{y}$  to  $\hat{n}j$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmaṇya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prāk. *vaṃhaṇja*.

$ny > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$ .

§ 554. The assimilation of  $ny$  to  $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhī *puṇṇī*. Skt. *aranya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *raṇ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$ny > n(n)$ .

§ 555. The assimilation of  $ny$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ny > n(n)$ .

§ 556. The assimilation of  $ny$  to  $n(n)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aranya* 'desert,' Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *rinu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiranya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṇṇa*, Pāli *hiraṇṇa*.

$nv > n(n)$ .

§ 557. The assimilation of  $nv$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kinva* 'yeast,' Pāli *kiṇṇa*, Sindhī *kinu*.

$nv > n(n)$ .

§ 558. The assimilation of  $nv$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kinva* 'yeast,' Sindhī *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tt > t(t)$ .

§ 559. The cerebralization of  $tt$  to  $t(t)$  is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding  $r$ ,  $r$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛtta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vaṭṭa*, Pāli *vaṭṭa*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Ur., Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *mittī*, *mattī*, Sindhī *miṭṭī*, Guj. *māṭī*, Mar. *māṭī*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭana*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.



$tp > p(p)$ .

§ 560. The assimilation of  $tp$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjantē*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhī *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ō*.

$tm > t(t)$ .

§ 561. The assimilation of  $tm$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*.

$tm > pt$ .

§ 562. The assimilation of  $tm$  to  $pt$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

$tm > p(p)$ .

§ 563. The assimilation of  $tm$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*, etc. (see § 561).

$ty > c(c)$ .

§ 564. The assimilation of  $ty$  to  $c(c)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *sāmcā*, (pron. *hoṃsā*), Ur. *sacā*, Bang. *sāmcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāmc*, Hindī *sāmc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācun*, Simh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhī *hacā*.

*ty* > *t(t)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(t)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nit(t)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Simh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Simh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prāk. *accunaya*.

*ty* > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Simh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Simh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

*tr* > *č(č)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ<sup>r</sup>a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pötr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

*tr* > *t(t)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *t(t)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(d)a*, Pāli *putta*, Ur. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *putī*, Simh. *pit*, *put*.

*tr* > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīṇi*, Kaśm. *trih*, Ur. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tīni*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *tīmn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *sutṭu*, Simh. *suta*.

$tr > (t)th$ .

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to  $(t)th$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindī, Hindī *pahilamthā*, Panj. *pahilōthā*, Sindhī *pahrōthō*, *pahrātu*.

$tr > d(d)$ .

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to  $d(d)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(d)a*, etc. (see § 568).

$tr > t(t)$ .

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to  $t(t)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pāli *ratti*, Kaśm., Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Simh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp.  $(a)raci$ . Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Ur., Bang. *khēta*, Hindī *khēt*, *khēdā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhī *khētu*, Guj. *khēd*, Mar. *śēt*, Simh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pāli *tīmaṇḍala*, Old Simh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Simh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk., Pāli *putta*, Hindī *put*, Mar. *putī*, Simh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

$tr > dr$ .

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to *dr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šaraī*, Yayn. *θaraī*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

$tr > phr, fr$ .

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to *phr, fr*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

$tr > r(r)$ .

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to  $r(r)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus(ar)*, Gab.

*pūr*, Kāš. *pür*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citrē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afy. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

*tr* > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yayn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *mitrdāt*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

*tr* > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Kurd. *pīsir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl., New Pers. *pās*.

*tr* > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

*tr* > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

*Syncope of tr.*

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *rāṅ*, *ratti*, Simh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhī *miō*.

*tv* > *t(t)*.

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turīa*, Pāli *turita*, Hindī, Panj. *turamt*, Sindhī *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turūt*. Skt. *catvāraḥ* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Simh. *siv(u)*, New Simh. *hatara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < \**tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

*tv* > *d(d)*.

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*, etc. (see preceding §).

*tv* > *p(p)*.

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-panu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vrddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *budhāpanā*, *budhāpā*, Hindī *būdḥāpan*, Panj. *budhāpā*, Sindhī *būdḥāpanu*, Guj. *budhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safōr*, Minj. *cafūr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Yayn. *tfō*, Afy. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

*tv* > *ph, f*.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safōr*, Minj. *cafūr*, Yayn. *tfō*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tv > b(b)$ .

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > l(l)$ .

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afγ. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > v(v)$ .

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v(v)* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Old Simh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > sp$ .

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

$tv > h(h)$ .

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h(h)* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapiθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbih*.

*Syncope of tv.*

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

$ts > c(c)$ .

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c(c)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bībhacca*. Skt.



*vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kaśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, W. Hindī *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

*ts* > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pāli *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ts* > š(š).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to š(š) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

*ts* > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jāina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pāli *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

*tsy* > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Simh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

*tsy* > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*tsy* > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsō*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

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*thy* > *(c)ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pāli *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Ur. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *michā*, Sindhī *maṭhyam*, Sinh. *misa*.

*thy* > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

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*dg* > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pāli *mugga*, Ur. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūng*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *mūng*, Sindhī *muṇu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pāli *muggara*, Ur. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muṇirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māγ*.

*dgh* > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṛi*, *ugghāḍaṛi*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, Ur. *uganā*, Sindhī *uḡanu*, Guj. *ugavun*, Mar. *ugavinēm*.

$dgh > (g)gh$ .

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to  $(g)gh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṛi*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

$ddh > (t)ṭh$ .

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to  $(t)ṭh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindī *sudh*, Sindhī *suṭhō*.

$ddh > (ḍ)ḍh$ .

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saddhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuddhi*, Pāli *vuddhi*, *vuddhi*.

$dm > m(m)$ .

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to  $m(m)$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < \**nišīdman*.

$dm > nm$ .

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

$dy > j(j)$ .

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to  $j(j)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Ur. *bijulī*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *viḷum*, Guj. *viḷulī*, Mar. *bījalī*, *vīj*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kaśm.

*aj*, *az*, Ur., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindī *āju*, E. Hindī, Hindī *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhī *ājū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Simh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *juti*.

*dy* > *d(d)*.

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Simh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vāidya* 'physician,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Simh. *veda*.

*dr* > *j(j)*.

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmd*, Sindhī *nīmd*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

*dr* > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Ur. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Simh. *cuḍi*, Simh. *kudā*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍarhu*, *ḍaḍhu*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

*dr* > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhī *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*dr* > *d(d)*.

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kaśm. *dach*, Hindī, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhī *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

*dr* > *l(l)*.

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhadda*, Pāli *bhadra*,

*bhadda*, Ass. *bhāl*, Ur. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindī, Panj. *bhalā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Simh. *hila*.

*dr* > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

*dr* > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

*dv* > *d(d)*.

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvala* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, Ur. *dara*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Simh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kaśm. *zah*, Ur., Bang. *dui*, Hindī, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *bā*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *dīva*, Pāli *dīpa*, Simh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Šiyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afγ. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

*dv* > *b(b)*.

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasā*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Ur. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ṭbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

$dv > v(v)$ .

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellaī*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afγ. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

$dhy > (j)jh$ .

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to  $(j)jh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māz*), Kaśm. *maṁz*, Ur. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, Hindī *mājhi*, *māmjh*, *mām̐h*, *mām̐jhōlā*, Panj. *mām̐jh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Simh. *māda*, inscriptions *māmda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhaī*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Ur. *bujhibā*, Bang. *būjhan*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhī *būjhanu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pāli *jhāṇa*, Hindī *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

$dhy > d(d)$ .

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burhvānī *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Simh. *mā(m̐)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pāli *viṇṇhati*, Simh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,



Wāxī *malung*, Šiyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

$\bar{d}hy > (\bar{d})\bar{d}h$ .

§ 621. The assimilation of  $\bar{d}hy$  to  $(\bar{d})\bar{d}h$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Šiyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\bar{d}hy > y(y)$ .

§ 622. The assimilation of  $\bar{d}hy$  to  $y(y)$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

$\bar{d}hy > l(l)$ .

§ 623. The assimilation of  $\bar{d}hy$  to  $l(l)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Wāxī *malung*, Afy. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

$\bar{d}hy > z(z)$ .

§ 624. The assimilation of  $\bar{d}hy$  to  $z(z)$  occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *māz* (written *māj*), Kaśm. *māmz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kaśm. *bōzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

$\bar{d}hy > h(h)$ .

§ 625. The assimilation of  $\bar{d}hy$  to  $h(h)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindī *mām̐h*, *mām̐jh(ōlā)*, *mām̐jh*, *māj̐hi*, etc. (see § 619).

$\bar{d}hr > (j)jh$ .

§ 626. The assimilation of  $\bar{d}hr$  to  $(j)jh$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giḍḍha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gījhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gīdhad*.

$dhr > d(d)$ .

§ 627. The assimilation of  $dhr$  to  $d(d)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd̐*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd̐*, *gīdh*, *gidhad̐*, etc. (see preceding §).

$dhr > (d)dh$ .

§ 628. The assimilation of  $dhr$  to  $(d)dh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhruva*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd̐*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gidhad̐*, *gīd̐*, etc. (see § 626).

$dhv > (j)jh$ .

§ 629. The assimilation of  $dhv$  to  $(j)jh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Simh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

$dhv > d(d)$ .

§ 630. The assimilation of  $dhv$  to  $d(d)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Simh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

$dhv > (d)dh$ .

§ 631. The assimilation of  $dhv$  to  $(d)dh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pāli *addhā*.

$nt > t(t)$ .

§ 632. The assimilation of  $nt$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śaur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtē*, Nāip. *-ādā*, Kaśm. *-ān*, Ur. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindī *-at*, Old Hindī *-ant*,

Hindī -atā, Panj. -a(n)dā, Sindhī -andō, Multānī -andā, -endā, Guj. -atō, Mar. -atā, -at, -īt.

$nt > (t)th$ .

§ 633. The assimilation of  $nt$  to  $(t)th$  is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *bərəzant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Oss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

$nt > d(d)$ .

§ 634. The assimilation of  $nt$  to  $d(d)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nt > nd$ .

§ 635. The softening of  $nt$  to  $nd$  is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śāur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvant* 'living,' Phl. *ēvandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afy. *ēvand*.

$nt > n(n)$ .

§ 636. The assimilation of  $nt$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kāśm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

*ntr* > *n̄tr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *n̄tr* is confined to the Sindhī (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *man̄tru*, *man̄dru*.

*ntr* > *n̄dr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *n̄dr* also is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *man̄dru*, *man̄tru*.

*ntr* > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afγ. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thaling*.

*ntr* > *l(l)*.

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

*nth* > *t̄(t)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *t̄(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇ̄thi*, Sindhī *gaṇ̄ḍhi*, *ghum̄ḍi*, Mar. *gaṇ̄th*, Simh. *gāṭayā*.

*nth* > *m̄th*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇ̄thi*, Mar. *gaṇ̄th*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gan̄tha*, Ur. *gaṇ̄tha*, Bang. *gānt*, *gāṁth*, Hindī *gāṁth*, Panj. *gaṇ̄ḍh*, *gaṇ̄ḍh*, Sindhī *gaṇ̄ḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṁth*, Simh. *gata*.

*nth* > *m̄ḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *m̄ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṇ̄ḍh*, *gaṇ̄ḍh*, Sindhī *gaṇ̄ḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

*nth* > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Simh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

*nth* > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

*nth* > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

*nth* > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *paṁtha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kaśm. *pāimth*, *pāimth*, *pānth*, Simh. *pandhu*.

*ndr* > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṁda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāmd*, also Kaśm. *čandar*, E. Hindī *cān*, Hindī, Panj. *caṁd*, Sindhī *caṁḍu*, *caṁḍru*, Simh. *sanda*, *handā*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

*ndr* > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṁda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāmd*, also Hindī, Panj. *caṁd*, Simh. *sanda*, *handā*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndr > n(n)$ .

§ 650. The assimilation of  $ndr$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindī *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

$ndh > t(t)$ .

§ 651. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *bastanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gīl. *davaddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

$ndh > (t)th$ .

§ 652. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $(t)th$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndh > d(d)$ .

§ 653. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $d(d)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gīl. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > nd$ .

§ 654. The deaspirization of  $ndh$  is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṁd*, *kāṁdh*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁdh*, Bihārī *kāṁdhā*, *khāṁdā*, Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṁdō*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Simh. *kanda*.

$ndh > n(n)$ .

§ 655. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > (n)nh$ .

§ 656. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $(n)nh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *simdh*, E. Hindī *sēnhi*, *sēmdh*, Hindī *sēmdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēmdhi*, Multānī



*sandh.* Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindī *aṁdhērā*, *aṁdlūyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

*ndhy* > *ṁj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhya* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saṁjhā*, Ur. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *sāṁjhā*, *saṁjhā*, Guj. *sāṁj*, Mar. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*.

*ndhy* > *ṁ(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁ(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhya* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saṁjhā*, Ur. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *saṁjhā*, *sāṁjhā*, Mar. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vaṁjha*, Ass. *bāṁji*, Ur. *bāṁjha*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāṁjh*, Panj. *baṁjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāṁjh*.

*nm* > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pāli *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhar. Prāk., Pāli *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmury*.

*ny* > *ṁj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṁj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaṇṇakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaṇjā*, *kaṇṇakā*, Pāli *kaṇṇā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhī *kaṇā*.

*ny* > *ṁ(ṇ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṁ(ṇ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhī *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, Simh. *amk(ak)*, *amkek*.

*ny* > *n(n)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunṇa*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kaśm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunṇ(ā)*, Sindhī *suñā*, Guj. *śun*, *sumn*, Mar. *sunā*.

*ny* > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jaina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *sunṇa*, Ass. *sunā*, Kaśm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunṇ(ā)*, Guj. *śun*, *sumn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afγ. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

*nv* > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsaṇa*.

*pt* > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasatṭhī*, Kaśm. *satahāiṭh*, Ur. *satsaṭhi*, Bang. *sātsaṭṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasatḥ*, *sarasatḥi*, *satasatḥi*, Hindī *sarsatḥ*, *satsatḥ*, Panj. *satāhaṭ*, Sindhī *sathatḥi*, Guj. *saḍṣeṭh*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

$pt > t(t)$ .

§ 666. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $t(t)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Simh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, Sindhī *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av.  $\sqrt{x^v}ap$  'to sleep,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aftanō*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vōn. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxī *rūxpam*, Šiyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gīl. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

$pt > d(d)$ .

§ 667. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $d(d)$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afγ. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afγ. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

$pt > (d)dh$ .

§ 668. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $(d)dh$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxī *hūb*, *(h)ub*, Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uđ*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yayn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

$pt > pht, ft$ .

§ 669. The spirantization of  $pt$  to  $ft$  occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

$pt > phth, fth$ .

§ 670. The double spirantization of  $pt$  to  $phth, fth$ , is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

$pt > b(b)$ .

§ 671. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $b(b)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Waxī *hüb*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > r(r)$ .

§ 672. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $r(r)$  is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasathī*, *sarasath*, *satasathī*, Hindī *sarsath*, *satsath*, etc. (see § 665).

$pt > v(v)$ .

§ 673. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $v(v)$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yayn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > vd$ .

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group  $pt$  to  $vd$  is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *üvd*, Yidg. *avduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

$pn > pp$ .

§ 675. The assimilation of  $pn$  to  $pp$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāūṇaī*, *pāvaī*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpunāti*, Ur. *pā*, Bang. *pāō*, Old Hindī *pāü*, Hindī *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāü*, Sindhī *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Simh. *pāminēnavā*.

$pn > f(f)$ .

§ 676. The assimilation of  $pn$  to  $f(f)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

$pn > m(m)$ .

§ 677. The assimilation of  $pn$  to  $m(m)$  is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Simh. *pāminēnavā*, etc. (see § 675).

$pny > m(m)$ .

§ 678. The assimilation of  $pny$  to  $m(m)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafnuya* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām*.

$py > p(p)$ .

§ 679. The assimilation of  $py$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppaṛi*, Pāli *kup-pati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

$pr > p(p)$ .

§ 680. The assimilation of  $pr$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Ur. *paṭhārbā*, Bang. *pāṭhān*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhī *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭhavum*, Mar. *pāṭaviṇēm*.

$pr > r(r)$ .

§ 681. The assimilation of  $pr$  to  $r(r)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmīr dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vön. *barūš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fraš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraš*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *razai*.

$pr > hl$ .

§ 682. The assimilation of  $pr$  to  $hl$  is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *šōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$p\check{s} > \check{s}(\check{s})$ .

§ 683. The assimilation of  $p\check{s}$  to  $\check{s}(\check{s})$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl., New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. *\*fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxī *spūn*, *šüpün*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

$ps > (c)ch$ .

§ 684. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $(c)ch$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindī *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhī *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)umchaī*, Pāli *jigucchatī*.

$ps > bz$ .

§ 685. The softening of  $ps$  to  $bz$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *gvabz*, *gvamz*.

$ps > mʒ$ .

§ 686. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $mʒ$  is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Bal. *gvamʒ*, *gvabʒ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ps > vs$ .

§ 687. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $vs$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šiyn., Sarq. *avsār*.

$ps > s(s)$ .

§ 688. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $s(s)$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *xʷafsītānō*, New Pers. *xuspīdan*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

$pstr > str$ .

§ 689. The assimilation of  $pstr$  to  $str$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.



*fs* > *ps*.

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian *fs* to *ps* occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

*bj* > *j(j)*.

§ 691. The assimilation of *bj* to *j(j)* is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Kaśm. *kobb*, Ur. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubja*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubadā*.

*bj* > *bḍ*.

§ 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindī *kubrā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

*bj* > *b(b)*.

§ 693. The assimilation of *bj* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kaśm. *kobb*, Hindī *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubadā*, etc. (see § 691).

*bḍ* > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 694. The assimilation of *bḍ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prāk., Pāli *sadda*, Old Hindī *sād*.

*bḍh* > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 695. The assimilation of *bḍh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prāk., Pāli *laddha*, Sindhī *ladhō*.

*br* > *b(b)*.

§ 696. The assimilation of *br* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jāina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, Simh. *bamba*.

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*bhy* > (b)bh.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pāli *abbhantara*, Ur., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindī *bhitar*, Guj. *bhitar*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaï*, Pāli *labbhati*, Old Hindī *labbh*, Sindhī *labh*.

*bhr* > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, Ur. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*, Simh. *bambarā*.

*bhr* > (b)bh.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pāli *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāī*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhī *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, Ur. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*, etc. (see preceding §).

*bhr* > vr.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to vr is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhāt(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gil. *brār*, Waxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *aura* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judaeo-Pers. *abr*, Afγ. *varyaǰ*, Bal. *havr*, Kurd. *(h)avr*, *hāūr*, Oss. *arv*.

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*mn* > *mm*.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

*mp* > *p(p)*.

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Simh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *campayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Simh. *sapu*.

*mp* > *mb*.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampaī*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kāmp*, Kāsm. *kam(p)*, Ur. *kāmp*, Bang. *kāmp*, Hindī *kāmp*, Panj. *kāmb*, Sindhī *kāmb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāštan* (written *anbāštan*).

*mb* > *b(b)*.

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Ur. *kamala*, Bang. *kāmbal*, *kāmbli*, E. Hindī *kāmmar*, Hindī *kāmmal*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kāmmal*, *kāmbal*, Sindhī *kāmari*, Guj. *kābalō*, *kāmal*, *kāmalī*, Mar. *kāmbalā*.

*mb* > *m(m)*.

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhī *jāmūn*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Ur. *kamala*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kāmal*, *kamālī*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbadō*, Mar. *limb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambāz* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīz*.

*mbh* > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhaāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumānlyē*, Ur. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhī *kumbharu*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

*mbh* > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Ur. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

*mbh* > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Ur. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

*mr* > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *tāmō*, Guj. *tāmbum*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Simh. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pāli

*amba*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *ām*, *amb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhī *ambu*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Simh. *amba*.

$mr > mbr > m(m)$ .

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(m)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *tāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Ur., Bang. *ām*, *amb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, etc. (see preceding §).

$mv > m(m)$ .

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(m)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamvārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

$m̃h > m̃gh$ .

§ 712. The assimilation of *m̃h* to *m̃gh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *sīmha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sīṃgh*, *siṃgh*, *sīm̃h*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Ind. dialects *sim̃h* (pron. and often written *siṃgh*).

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$rk > k(k)$ .

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prāk., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kām̃kar*, Bang. *kām̃kar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkataṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kām̃karā*, E. Hindī *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindī *kām̃karā*, Sindhī *kām̃karō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' Ur., Bang. *kā(m̃)kad̃r̃*, Hindī, Panj. *ka(k)kad̃r̃*, Sindhī *kakid̃r̃*, Guj., Mar. *kākad̃r̃*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

$rk > (k)kh.$

§ 714. The assimilation of  $rk$  to  $(k)kh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rk > t(t).$

§ 715. The change of  $rk$  to  $t(t)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 119?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kutō*, Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*.

$rk > tr.$

§ 716. The change of  $rk$  to  $tr$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rg > g(g).$

§ 717. The assimilation of  $rg$  to  $g(g)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prāk. *maggaī*, Pāli *maggaṭi*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kaśm. *maṁg*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṁg*, Panj. *maṁg*, Sindhī *maṇ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

$rgr > (g)gh.$

§ 718. The assimilation of  $rgr$  to  $(g)gh$  is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighanta*.

$rgg > g(g).$

§ 719. The assimilation of  $rgg$  to  $g(g)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahaṁgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*, Māladive *agu*.



$rg̃h > (g)gh$ .

§ 720. The assimilation of  $rg̃h$  to  $(g)gh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghṇa*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *aggha*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diggha*, *dīha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

$rg̃h > h(h)$ .

§ 721. The assimilation of  $rg̃h$  to  $h(h)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha*, *diggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rj̃ > j(j)$ .

§ 722. The assimilation of  $rj̃$  to  $j(j)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prāk. *gajjida*, Pāli *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pāli *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjanā*, Sindhī *gaṛjanu*, Guj. *gājavuṃ*, Mar. *gājanēm*.

$rj̃ > rz$ .

§ 723. The change of  $rj̃$  to  $rz$  is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afy. *yarz*.

$rj̃ > ž(ž)$ .

§ 724. The assimilation of  $rj̃$  to  $ž(ž)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rjh > (j)jh$ .

§ 725. The assimilation of  $rjh$  to  $(j)jh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prāk., Pāli *nijjhara*.

$rn̄ > n̄(n̄)$ .

§ 726. The assimilation of  $rn̄$  to  $n̄(n̄)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pāli *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kaśm. *son*, Ur. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaṁ*, *sōnēṁ*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$rn > n(n)$ .

§ 727. The assimilation of  $rn$  to  $n(n)$  is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *karna* 'ear,' Pāli *kaṇṇa*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhī *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmrapaṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(m)ni*, Pāli *tambapannī* (Gr. Ταμροβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kaśm. *son*, Ur. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaṁ*, *sōnēṁ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pāli *uṇṇa*, Hindī *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhī, Guj. *un*.

$rn > r(r)$ .

§ 728. The assimilation of  $rn$  to  $r(r)$  is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kaśm. *čūn*, Ur. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Ur., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pāli *puṇṇa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhī *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$ .

§ 729. The aspirization of  $rt$  to  $rth$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > t(t)$ .

§ 730. The assimilation of  $rt$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *nattāi*, Pāli

*naṭṭakī*, New Ind. dialects *naṭī*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pāli *vaṭṭakā*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhī *baṭērō*, Simh. *vaṭuvā*.

$rt > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, Ur. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gāḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhī *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāravuṃ*, Mar. *gāraṇēm*.

$rt > t(t)$ .

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pāli *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pāli *āvatta*, *āvaṭṭa*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Ur. *baṭi*, Bang. *bāṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *battī*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *baṭi*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartarī* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattarī*, Ur. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhī *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

$rt > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cēd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

$rt > rd$ .

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *vartak*, New Pers. *vardīj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

$rt > r(r)$ .

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr(r)*, Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, etc. (see § 733).

$rt > l(l)$ .

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *pēl*, *par*, *pird*, *purd*.

$rt > ld$ .

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

$rt > hl$ .

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

$rth > t(t)$ .

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pāli *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*, Ur. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuṭhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumṭhā*.

$rth > (t)tḥ$ .

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)tḥ* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pāli *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Ur. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rth > (t)th$ .

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*,

Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*, etc. (see § 739).

$rth > hl$ .

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

$rd > ḍ(ḍ)$

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chadḍati*, Pāli *chadḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *čar*, Ur., Bang. *chār*, Old Hindī *chamḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāmṛ*, Panj. *chadḍ*, Sindhī *chadḍ*, Mar. *sāmṛ*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍāhu*, Guj. *gadhērō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *lhel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

$rd > (ḍ)ḍh$ .

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rd > ḍ(d)$ .

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṇḍdaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čōdāh*, Ur. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍaham*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

$rd > (ḍ)ḍh$ .

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhērō*, etc. (see § 743).

$rd > r(r)$ .

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavadḍa*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāurī*, *kāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

$rd > l(l)$ .

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛilla*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

$rdh > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaddhaṛi*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kaśm. *baḍ*, Ur. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saddha*, Kaśm. *sādū*, Ur. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Simh. *aḍa*.

$rdh > (ḍ)ḍh$ .

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaddhaṛi*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Ur. *barḥ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *barḥāi*, Panj. *baḍḍhī*, Sindhī, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥāi*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*,



*saddha*, Ur., E. Hindī, Hindī *sārhē*, Panj. *sādhē*, Sindhī *sālhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rdh > (d)dh$ .

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to  $(d)dh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

$rdhv > (d)dh$ .

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to  $(d)dh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prak., Pāli *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

$rdhv > (b)bh$ .

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to  $(b)bh$  is frequent in the Indian dialects ( $rdhv > ddhv > ddhb > dbh > bbh$ ).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prak., Pāli *ubbha*, *udāha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

$rn > n(n)$ .

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to  $n(n)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Lāym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, Afy. *kōn*, *kūn*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī *par*, Afy. *pāna*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

$rn > n(n)$ .

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to  $n(n)$  is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Lāym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *urna* 'wool,' Šiyn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yāyn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$ .

§ 756. The assimilation of  $rn$  to  $r(r)$  is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrah*, Waxī *δōr*, Sarq. *dar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *viḍa]farnah*, Phl. *farn[bağ*, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$ .

§ 757. The assimilation of  $rn$  to  $l(l)$  is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$ .

§ 758. The assimilation of  $rp$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Simh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$ .

§ 759. The assimilation of  $rb$  to  $b(b)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pāli *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubāl*.

$rbh > (b)bh$ .

§ 760. The assimilation of  $rbh$  to  $(b)bh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prāk., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gābhu*, *garābhu*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

$rm > m(m)$ .

§ 761. The assimilation of  $rm$  to  $m(m)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *camm*, Sindhī *camu*, Simh. *sama*, *kama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Simh. *kama*.

$rm > r(r)$ .

§ 762. The assimilation of  $rm$  to  $r(r)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *careman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmīn*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma-*, New Pers., Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *yārma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *yar*, *yarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

$ry > j(j)$ .

§ 763. The assimilation of  $ry$  to  $j(j)$  is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śaur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindī, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhī *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

$ry > r(r)$ .

§ 764. The assimilation of  $ry$  to  $r(r)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Ur. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Simh. *(h)iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciryā* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

$ry > rj$ .

§ 765. The change of  $ry$  to  $rj$  is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhī *kārju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

*ry* > *l(l)*.

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *paryan̄ka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallan̄ka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliann̄ka*, Pāli *pallan̄ka*, New Ind. *palan̄g*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *paryāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Ur. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindī *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhī *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ(ō)*, Mar. *pālāṇ*.

*rv* > *p(p)*.

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappēti*, Ur. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *cab̄*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Simh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

*rv* > *b(b)*.

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Ur. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *cab̄*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Simh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *sarva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Ur. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

*rv* > *(b)bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindī, E. Hindī *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*rv* > *rbh*.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *parab*, Sindhī *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

$rv > r(r)$ .

§ 771. The assimilation of  $rv$  to  $r(r)$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

$rv > v(v)$ .

§ 772. The assimilation of  $rv$  to  $v(v)$  is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768).  
Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

$rś > ṁs$ .

§ 773. The change of  $rś$  to  $ṁs$  is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṁsana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*); Sindhī *darsaṇu*.

$rś > s(s)$ .

§ 774. The assimilation of  $rś$  to  $s(s)$  is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phaṁsanā*, Sindhī *phasāṇu*, Guj. *phasavum*, Mar. *phasanēm*.

$rśv > s(s)$ .

§ 775. The assimilation of  $rśv$  to  $s(s)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhī, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsim*, Gyp. *paš*.

$rśv > h(h)$ .

§ 776. The assimilation of  $rśv$  to  $h(h)$  is exceedingly rare (cf.

Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see pre-

$rṣ > (ḍ)ḍh$ .

§ 777. The assimilation of  $rṣ$  to  $(ḍ)ḍh$  is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Ur. *kārhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindī *kārhnā*, Panj. *karṛhanā*, Sindhī *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kāhā-ravun*, Mar. *kārhaṇēm*.

$rṣ > r(r)$ .

§ 778. The assimilation of  $rṣ$  to  $r(r)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśīrṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Ur. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhī *maṅghīru*.

$rš > rz$ .

§ 779. The change of  $rš$  to  $rz$  is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afγ. *vraž*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barza*, Tag. *barz*.

$rṣ > ś(ś)$ .

§ 780. The assimilation of  $rṣ$  to  $ś(ś)$  is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Simh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$rṣ, rš > ṣ(ṣ), ś(ś)$ .

§ 781. The assimilation of  $rṣ, rš$  to  $ṣ(ṣ), ś(ś)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayan* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašītanō*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišān*.

$rṣ > s(s)$ .

§ 782. The assimilation of  $rṣ$  to  $s(s)$  occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).



a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sīssa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 780).

$$rṣ > h(h).$$

§ 783. The assimilation of *rṣ* to *h(h)* is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kaḥāpaṇa*, Ur. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindī *kaḥān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Sinh. *vahinu*, Māladive *vehenī*.

$$rśn > kh, x.$$

§ 784. The assimilation of *rśn* to *kh, x*, is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(ī)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

$$rśn > n(n).$$

§ 785. The assimilation of *rśn* to *n(n)* is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$rśn > r(r).$$

§ 786. The assimilation of *rśn* to *r(r)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, etc. (see § 784).

$$rśn > rs.$$

§ 787. The assimilation of *rśn* to *rs* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurx*.

$$rśn > rʒ.$$

§ 788. The assimilation of *rśn* to *rʒ* is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurx*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\check{s}n > \check{s}(\check{s})$ .

§ 789. The assimilation of  $r\check{s}n$  to  $\check{s}(\check{s})$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\check{s}n > \check{s}n$ .

§ 790. The reduction of  $r\check{s}n$  to  $\check{s}n$  is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\check{s}n > \check{z}(\check{z})$ .

§ 791. The assimilation of  $r\check{s}n$  to  $\check{z}(\check{z})$  is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tažai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\check{s}v > \check{s}v$ .

§ 792. The assimilation of  $r\check{s}v$  to  $\check{s}v$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$ .

§ 793. The transposition of  $rs$  to  $hl$  is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rz > l(l)$ .

§ 794. The assimilation of  $rz$  to  $l(l)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bālišť*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōlišť*.

$rh > r(r)$ .

§ 795. The assimilation of  $rh$  to  $r(r)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$rh > l(l)$ .

§ 796. The assimilation of  $rh$  to  $l(l)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

$lk > k(k)$ .

§ 797. The assimilation of  $lk$  to  $k(k)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindī *lūkā*, Sindhī *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhī *bakaru*.

$lg > g(g)$ .

§ 798. The assimilation of  $lg$  to  $g(g)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New. Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

$lp > p(p)$ .

§ 799. The assimilation of  $lp$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappati*, Sinh. *kapanavā*.

$lm > mb$ .

§ 800. The assimilation of  $lm$  to  $mb$  is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jāina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbalī*, Ur. *śimīla*, *śimūla*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmal*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

$lm > m(m)$ .

§ 801. The assimilation of  $lm$  to  $m(m)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Ur. *śimīla*, *śimūla*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmal*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

$lm > mv$ .

§ 802. The change of  $lm$  to  $mv$  is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

*ly* > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prāk., Pāli *kalla*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhī *kālh*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

*ly* > *(l)lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindī, Hindī *kālh*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhī *kālh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol*, Ur. *mula*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

*lv* > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

*lw* > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lw* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pāli *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khalvāṭa* 'bald,' Prāk. *khallāḍa*, Pāli *khallāṭa*.

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*vy* > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīvyati* 'sews,' Pāli *sibbatī*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Ur. *bitibā*, Hindī *bitnā*, Panj. *bitītanā*, Guj. *vaṭavun*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindī *bāchnā*, Panj. *banchuanā*, Sindhī *virchanu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Simh. *vag*.

$vy > v(v)$ .

§ 808. The assimilation of *vy* to *v(v)* occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavum*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Simh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

$vr > v(v)$ .

§ 809. The assimilation of *vr* to *v(v)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvaśī* nom. prop., Prāk. *uvvasī*. Skt. *vrīhi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pāli *vīhi*, Simh. *vī*.

$śc > c(c)$ .

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c(c)* is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pāli *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindī, Panj. *acaraḥ*, Sindhī *acaraḥ*, *acarāt*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *pisē*, *pācē*), Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *pisē*), Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pīchē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Simh. *pas(u)*.

$śc > (c)ch$ .

§ 811. The assimilation of *śc* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vim̐cua*, *vicchua*, *vim̐chua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kaśm. *bīc*, *būch*, Ur., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindī *biccu*, Hindī *bichuā*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhī *vichūm*, Guj. *vichu*, *vim̐chū*, Mar. *viñcū*, *vim̐chūm*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pīchē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

$śc > s(s)$ .

§ 812. The assimilation of *śc* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *pisē*, *pāsē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *pisē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Simh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

*Syncope of śc.*

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścātvarimśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tēālīsā*, Kaśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihārī *tāmtālīs*, Hindī *tēālīs*, *tētālīsā*, *tāimtālīs*, Sindhī *tētālīh*.

*śm > m(m).*

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, Ur. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindī *masān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhī *masāṇu*, Guj. *masāṇ*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

*śm > s(s).*

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmī*, *raṁsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *rasī*), Kaśm. *raz*, Ur., Bang. *rasī*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhī *rasī*, Mar. *rassī*.

*śr > m̐j.*

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *m̐j* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kaśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āṁsū*, Ur. *ōm̐jhū*, *āṁsū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṁsū*, Panj. *aṁjhu*, Sindhī *haṁj*, Guj. *āṁju*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*.

*śr > m̐jh.*

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *m̐jh* is excessively rare.



a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Ur. *ōmjhū*, *āmsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{s}r > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$ .

§ 818. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}r$  to  $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Ur. *śunibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *sunānā*, Sindhī *sunāṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

$\acute{s}r > s(s)$ .

§ 819. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}r$  to  $s(s)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṃsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, Ur. *āmsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āmsū*, Mar. *aṃsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *sunānā*, Sindhī *sunāṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{s}l > s(s)$ .

§ 820. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}l$  to  $s(s)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *semha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*.

$\acute{s}v > s(s)$ .

§ 821. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}v$  to  $s(s)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Sinh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhī *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prāk., Pāli *sāsa*, Sindhī *sāhu*.

*ṣk* > *k(k)*.

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkada*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pāli *dukkata*, *dukkata*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pāli *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Ur., Bang. *śukā*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Sindhī *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pāli *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindī *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsanā*, *nikkālanā*, Sindhī *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāi-ṇum*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsavum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēm*, *nikāl*.

*ṣk* > *(k)kh*.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pāli *sukha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pāli *pokkhara*, Ur. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindī, Mar. *pōkhar*.

*ṣṭ* > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Ur. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāēṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Simh. *sāṭa*.

*ṣṭ* > *(t)th*.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(t)th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭhī*, *lāṭ(ī)*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭāu* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, Ur. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śāṭh*, *śēṭh*, Ur. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

*ṣṭ > ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Ur. *bhērā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vaḍḥō*, *vērḥā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *lēṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prāk. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

*ṣṭ > (ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Ur. *bērḥā*, *bhērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vērḥā*, *vaḍḥō*, Mar. *vēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindī, Panj. *rūḍh*.

*ṣṭr > (ṭ)ṭ*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prāk. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(v)ūṁṭh*, Bihārī *ū(m)ṭ*, Sindhī *uṭhu*.

*ṣṭr > (ṭ)ṭh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahārāṭṭha*, Sindhī *marāṭhī*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

*ṣṭr > ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭha*, Ur. *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Bang. *dār(ṭ)*, Hindī *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Panj. *dāhad(ṭ)*, Sindhī *dāṭh*, *dāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *dāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Simh. *dāḷa*.

$\text{ṣtr} > (\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$ .

§ 831. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣtr}$  to  $(\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Ur., Hindī *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Guj. *dāḍhṛ*, *ḍāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣtr} > \text{l}(\text{l})$ .

§ 832. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣtr}$  to  $\text{l}(\text{l})$  is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see § 830).

$\text{ṣtr} > \text{h}(\text{h})$ .

§ 833. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣtr}$  to  $\text{h}(\text{h})$  is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhad(ṛ)*, Guj. *ḍāhār*, *dāḍhṛ*, etc. (see § 830).

$\text{ṣth} > \text{t}(\text{t})$ .

§ 834. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣth}$  to  $\text{t}(\text{t})$  is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pāli *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *koṭṭ*, *koṭṭh*.

$\text{ṣth} > (\text{ṭ})\text{ṭh}$ .

§ 835. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣth}$  to  $(\text{ṭ})\text{ṭh}$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prāk. *patṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *putṭhi*, Pāli *piṭṭha*, Ass., Ur. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *pṛt*, Hindī *pṛth*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *putṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pṛth*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *pūṣto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhī* 'assembly,' Prāk. *goṭṭhī*, Pāli *goṭṭha*, Sindhī *gōṭhu*, Mar. *goṭṭhī*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prāk. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pāli *oṭṭha*, Kāśm. *vuṭh*, Ur. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣt*.

$\text{ṣth} > \text{ḍ}(\text{ḍ})$ .

§ 836. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣth}$  to  $\text{ḍ}(\text{ḍ})$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kudha*, Bang. *kudī*, Sindhī *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōr*, *kōrh*, *kōhōr*.

$\text{ṣth} > (\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$ .

§ 837. The assimilation of  $\text{ṣth}$  to  $(\text{ḍ})\text{ḍh}$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kuḍha*, Sindhi *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōrh*, *kōr*, *kōhōr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$ .

§ 838. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇ(ṇ)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *uṇha* (but Pāli *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītunḥaka*), Sindhi *uṇ*, Guj. *unhuṇ*, Mar. *ūnha*, Sinh. *(h)unu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$ .

§ 839. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇ(ṇ)$  occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. *(h)unu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$ .

§ 840. The change of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prāk., Pāli *kaṇha*, Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhi *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$ .

§ 841. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇ(ṇ)$  occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pāli *sītunnaka*, *sītunḥaka*, Mar. *ūnha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhi *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$ .

§ 842. The change of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhuṇ*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$ .

§ 843. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $h(h)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *tan̥hā*, Pāli *tiṇhā*, *tasinā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *tīh*, Mar. *tahān*.

*sp* > *p(p)*.

§ 844. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bhāp*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Kaśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindī *puhup*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhī *niputrō*.

*sp* > *(p)ph*.

§ 845. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sp* > *h(h)*.

§ 846. The assimilation of *sp* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kaśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

*sm* > *(b)bh*.

§ 847. The assimilation of *sm* to *(b)bh* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindī *ūbh*, Mar. *umhal*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gim̐bha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindī *garīsam*, Mar. *gim̐bh*, *gīm*.

*sm* > *m(m)*.

§ 848. The assimilation of *sm* to *m(m)* is very rare.



a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gimbh*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sm* > *mh*.

§ 849. The change of *sm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pali *gimha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhal*, etc. (see § 847).

*sy* > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 850. The change of *sy* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *sīsa*, Pali *sissa*, Sindhi *sikhū*.

*sy* > *ṣṣ*.

§ 851. The assimilation of *sy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Ur. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindi *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*.

*sy* > *s(s)*.

§ 852. The assimilation of *sy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sāsaī*, Pali *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindi *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sy* > *h(h)*.

§ 853. The change of *sy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhami*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pali *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

*sk* > *k(k)*.

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang., Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kaṁdhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kāṁdhō*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Elu *kaṁda*, Māladive *koḍu*.

$sk > (k)kh$ .

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to  $(k)kh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sc > c(c)$ .

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to  $c(c)$  is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

$sc > š(š)$ .

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to  $š(š)$  is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sc > šk$ .

§ 858. The change of *sc* to  $šk$  is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

$sc > s(s)$ .

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to  $s(s)$  is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$st > (k)kh.$

§ 860. The change of  $st$  to  $(k)kh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khambha*, *thambha*, Pāli *thambha*, Ur. *khambh(ā)*, *kham(bā)*, Bang. *khambā*, Hindī, Panj. *thamb*, Sindhī *thambhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *khambh*, *thamb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Sinh. *ṭamba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

$st > t(t).$

§ 861. The assimilation of  $st$  to  $t(t)$  is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Sinh. *ṭamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

$st > t(t).$

§ 862. The assimilation of  $st$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jaina Prāk. *tēniya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kaśm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), Ur., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

$st > (t)th.$

§ 863. The assimilation of  $st$  to  $(t)th$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *pōthaka*, Kaśm. *pūth*, Ur. *pōthā*, Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Sinh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kaśm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, Ur. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindī, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhī *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, Ur., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *than*, Panj. *than*, Sindhī *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Sinh. *tana*.

$st > s(s).$

§ 864. The assimilation of  $st$  to  $s(s)$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

*sty* > *ṭh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *ṭhīna*, *thīna*.

*sth* > (k)kh.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthānu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khānu*, *khannu*, 'firm,' *thānu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

*sth* > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Simh. *āṭa*.

*sth* > (t)ṭh.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)ṭh is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāna*, *thāna*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thanī*, Ur. *thanā*, *thānā*, Bang. *thanā*, *thān*, Hindī *thannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *ṭhān*, *thānā*, Sindhī *ṭhānu*, *thānu*, Guj. *ṭhān*, *thān*, Mar. *ṭhān*, *thār*, Simh. *ṭāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

*sth* > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Ur., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

*sth* > *t(t)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *thira*, Hindī *ṭhir*, Simh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, Ur., Panj. *thālī*, Guj. *thālō*, Mar. *thālā*, Simh. *tāli*, Māladive *teli*.

*sth* > (t)th.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāṇa*, *ṭhāṇa*, Nāip. *tharai*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thāṇā*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhāṇ*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. -*stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. -*stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

*sth* > *st*.

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahatṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindī *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

*sth* > ś(ṣ).

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to ś(ṣ) is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. -*stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

*sn* > *ṇh*.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāṇā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhanēm*.

*sn* > *n(n)*.

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to *n(n)* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *sinēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhī *nīmhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoda* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōd*. Skt. *snusar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nēōr*, Bal. *našār*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarə* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

*sn* > *nh*.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, etc. (see § 874).

*sp* > *p(p)*.

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇapphaī*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass.  $\sqrt{p}$ as, Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pōrsō*), Hindī, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sperəza* 'spleen,' Phl. *spārəz*, New Pers. *supurəz*, Kāš. *aspūl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *süpül*, Kurd. *pişik*.

*sp* > *(p)ph*.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phaṁdana*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindī *phāṁdanā*, Panj. *phaṁdanā*, Mar. *phāṁdanēm*.

*sp* > *s(s)*.

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇapphaī*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaapphaī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.



*yafs.* Skt. *āsvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istīr*, *histir*.

*sp* > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospənta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afy. *spīn*, Kurd. (*i*)*spī*.

*sp* > *sb*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sb* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

*sph* > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sph* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurdī*. [So the Prākṛit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

*sph* > (*p*)*ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sph* to (*p*)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphuṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurdī*.

*sm* > *mh*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amhi*, Pāli *amhi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimhaa*, Pāli *vimhaya*, Sindhī *visā*.

$sm > s(s)$ .

§ 885. The assimilation of  $sm$  to  $s(s)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhī *visāi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindī, Panj. *surat*, Sindhī *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *saraī*, *sumaraī*, Pāli *sarati*, *sumarati*.

$sm > sb$ .

§ 886. The change of  $sm$  to  $sb$  is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

$sm > z(z)$ .

§ 887. The assimilation of  $sm$  to  $z(z)$  is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *išma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$sm > zm$ .

§ 888. The softening of  $sm$  to  $zm$  is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Gab. *išma*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sm > žm$ .

§ 889. The change of  $sm$  to  $žm$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *ašmān*, etc. (see § 886).

$sy > (j)jh$ .

§ 890. The change of  $sy$  to  $(j)jh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāmsya*, *kaṁsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁsia*, Pāli *kaṁsa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāṁsā*, Panj. *kāṁsī*, Sindhī *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsum*, Mar. *kāṁsēm* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. *\*tusya*).

$sy > s(s)$ .

§ 891. The assimilation of  $sy$  to  $s(s)$  is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śal*, Hindī *sāl*, Panj. *salā*, Sindhī *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sālō*, Mar. *sāla*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyak*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

*sy* > *ś(š)*.

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to *ś(š)* is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sr* > *(k)kḥ*.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to *(k)kḥ* is extremely rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraonī* 'thigh,' Phl. *surīk*, *surīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šiyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

*sr* > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōšā*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *(h)istir*, *asr*.

*sr* > *s(s)*.

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prak., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prak. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Sinh. *sō*, *soya*, *(h)oya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusā*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *xʷāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

*sr* > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

*sr* > *ś(š)*.

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to *ś(š)* is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afy. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afy. *x<sup>v</sup>āša*, etc. (see § 895).

*sr* > *h(h)*.

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Simh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

*Aphaeresis of sr.*

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Simh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *k(k)*.

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>afsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aftanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*, Sīv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Zaza *knana*.

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *(k)kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *x<sup>v</sup>ar*, New Pers. *xur*, Šiyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>artanō*, New Pers. *xurđan*, Gab. *xartin*, Sīv. *fōrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x<sup>v</sup>aram*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*, Afy. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *sax<sup>v</sup>ārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 329 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > (p)ph, f.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (p)ph, f, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 371 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Siv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901).  
Av. *x<sup>v</sup>afsata* 'sleep!' Siv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > v(v).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to v(v), through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aš*, *xūš* 'good,' Pāz. *x<sup>v</sup>aš*, New Pers. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xūš*, *xōš*, Šīyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

*sv* > s(s).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to s(s) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmī*, *suvāmī*, Ur., Bang. *śāim*, Hindī, Panj. *sāim*, Sindhī *sāim̐m*, Simh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindī *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhī *sāgō*, Guj. *sagum̐*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svānga* 'mimicry,' Hindī, Panj. *sāmg*, Sindhī *sāmgū*, Guj., Mar. *sōmg*.

*sv* > h(h), and *sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > h(h).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to h(h) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Simh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Tal. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901).  
Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aī*, *x<sup>v</sup>ēdē*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>ai*, Waxi *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḏ*, Afy. *xvalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

*Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x<sup>v</sup>, hv.*

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>afsata* 'sleep!' Tāl. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

*šk > c(c).*

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

*šk > s(s).*

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

*šk > sk.*

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *sk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

*šk > š(š).*

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gīl. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šīyn. *paš*, Afγ. *pišō*, Bal. *pūšī*, *pišī*, Kurd. *pīšīk*.

*šk > šc.*

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk*, Šīyn. *pašc*, Afγ. *paca*.

*št > kht, xt.*

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *āngašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.



$\acute{s}t > khs, xs.$

§ 914. The change of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $khs, xs$ , is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

$\acute{s}t > t(t).$

§ 915. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $t(t)$  is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāt*, *hāθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afy. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afy. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

$\acute{s}t > (t)th.$

§ 916. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $(t)th$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

$\acute{s}t > l(l).$

§ 917. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $l(l)$  is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Waxī *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

$\acute{s}t > s(s).$

§ 918. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $s(s)$  is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

$\acute{s}t > šk.$

§ 919. The change of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $šk$  is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

$\acute{s}ty > \acute{s}t.$

§ 920. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}ty$  to  $\acute{s}t$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.

$\acute{s}n > khn, xn$ .

§ 921. The change of  $\acute{s}n$  to *kh**n*, *x**n*, is very rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāš-nah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *pušnā*, Afγ. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūmzig*, *pīmz*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

$\acute{s}n > d(d), nd$ .

§ 922. The change of  $\acute{s}n$  to *d*(*d*), *nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afγ. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phīd*, *phīz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{s}n > n(n)$ .

§ 923. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}n$  to *n*(*n*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

$\acute{s}n > z(z), m̄z$ .

§ 924. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}n$  to *z*(*z*), *m̄z*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūmzig*, *pīmz*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, etc. (see § 921).

$\acute{s}m > m(m)$ .

§ 925. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}m$  to *m*(*m*) is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

$\acute{s}m > v(v)$ .

§ 926. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}m$  to *v*(*v*) is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{s}m > sm$ .

§ 927. The change of  $\acute{s}m$  to  $sm$  is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākam* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

$\acute{s}m > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$ .

§ 928. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}m$  to  $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$  is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gil. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

$\acute{s}m > \acute{x}m$ .

§ 929. The softening of  $\acute{s}m$  to  $\acute{x}m$  occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōšm*, etc. (see § 925).

$\acute{s}y > c(c), \acute{c}(\acute{c})$ .

§ 930. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}y$  to  $c(c), \acute{c}(\acute{c})$ , is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *čian*, Oss. *čaun*.

$\acute{s}y > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$ .

§ 931. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}y$  to  $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāt(īh)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

$\acute{s}y > \acute{x}(\acute{x})$ .

932. The softening of  $\acute{s}y$  to  $\acute{x}(\acute{x})$  is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

$\acute{s}g > \acute{x}g$ .

§ 933. The change of  $\acute{s}g$  to  $\acute{x}g$  is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *maγz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afγ. *māγza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *maγz*.

$zd > z(z)$ .

§ 934. The assimilation of *zd* to *z(z)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nazda* 'near,' Phl. *nazdāk*, New Pers. *naz-d(īh)*, Sarq. *nizd*, Afγ. *nizdē*, *niždē*, Bal. *nazīk*, N. Bal. *nazī(x)*, Kurd. *nižūk*, *nēžīk*.

$zr > dr$ .

§ 935. The change of *zr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *zrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *zirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *zirā*.

$zv > zm$ .

§ 936. The change of *zv* to *zm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. *(h)uēvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *sabān*, *subān*, Gab. *iēvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šiyn. *sav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afγ. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, Oss. *awzag*.

$zb > žb$ .

§ 937. The change of *zb* to *žb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Afγ. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

$žd > z(z)$ .

§ 938. The assimilation of *žd* to *z(z)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dužd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

$žd > zd$ .

§ 939. The change of *žd* to *zd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *duzd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīžda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

$hn > nh$ .

§ 940. The metathesis of *hn* to *nh* is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vanhi*, Sindhī *bāhi*.

$hn > n(n)$ .

§ 941. The assimilation of *hn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciṇha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *cimnu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindī *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhī *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *cimha*.

$hn > ndh$ .

§ 942. The change of *hn* to *ndh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciṇha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hn > h(h)$ .

§ 943. The assimilation of *hn* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhī *bāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

$hm > m(m)$ .

§ 944. The assimilation of *hm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, Simh. *bāmha*.

$hm > mb$ .

§ 945. The change of *hm* to *mb* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Simh. *bāmha*, etc. (see preceding §).

*hm* > *mbh*.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

*hy* > *j(j)*.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

*hy* > *(j)jh*.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjhaṇi*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

*hv* > *(b)bh*.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jīhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jībh*, excepting Sindhī *jībh*, Simh. *diva*, Māladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pāli *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

*hv* > *v(v)*.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Simh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

*hv* > *h(h)*.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.



*Syncope of hv.*

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *ṣeo*, Maladive *dā*, etc. (see § 949).

*Anusvāra and Anunāsika.*

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarāṭī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *a* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pali *siha*, Hindi, Panj. *siṁgh*, Sindhi *siṁghō*, *ṣimhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. *siṁgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hansa* 'goose,' E. Hindi *hāns*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pali *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikri*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindi *siṁkar*, *sikar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindi *sikar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhi *saṁgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, Mar. *saṁkhal*, *sākhā*, *sikri*. Skt. *kuṇḍikā* 'key,' Kāśm. *kuṇḍ*, Ur. *kumci*, *kumjhi*, *kujī*, Bang. *kumjī*, *kājī*, Hindi, Panj. *kumjī*, Sindhi *kumjī*, Guj. *kumhō*, Mar. *kumjī*. Skt. *śaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāmr*, Bang. *ṣāmr*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sāmr*, Panj. *sāṁḍh*, Sindhi *sānu*, Mult. *sāmh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*. Skt. *śkaṇḍha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pali *khaṇḍha*, Ass. *kāṁḍ(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁḍh*, Bihārī *kāṁḍhā*, *khāṁḍā*, Hindi *kāṁḍhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kāṁh*, Sindhi *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṁḍō*, Mar. *khāṁḍā*, Simh. *kandā*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

*kam̐paṛi*, *kam̐paṛi*, Pāli *kam̐pati*, Ass. *kam̐p*, Kaśm. *kam(p)*, Hindī *kā̃mp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kā̃mp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dānīm*, *dāni*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahim*, E. Hindī, Hindī *dahī*, Panj. *dahīm*, Sindhī *dahīm*, Guj., Mar. *dahīm*.

### *Visarga.*

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *h* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindī *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindī *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindī *niḥsvās* (pron. *nisvās*), *nisvās*.

### *Metathesis.*

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jāina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *ānāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pāli *lahuka*, Ur., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindī *haluk*, Hindī *halakā*, Sindhī *halkō*, Guj. *halakum*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakata* 'stupid,' Pāli *kasata*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gadḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadṛabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *garahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gadḥav*. Skt. *kṣēpaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Ur. *phim̐gibā*, *pakāibā*, Hindī, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhī *phakanu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *budḍaṛi*, Ur., Bang. *bud*, Hindī *būd*, Sindhī *būd*, Guj., Mar. *bud* beside Ur., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbaṇā*, Sindhī *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *ḍubanu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihaṭ*, Kaśm. *prāv*, Ur. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *pahīr*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pēhraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *bīḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bīlār*, Guj. *bilādī*. Skt. *saṃudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *saṃudda*, *saṃudra*, Pāli *saṃudda*, Siṃh. \**hamuda* > \**mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Siṃh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Siṃh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *picumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *puṇimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *sīrah*, Siv. *sīr*, Yazdi *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kaš. *sūr*, Waxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kaš., Māz., Gil., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafir*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thuni*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kaš. *asl*, Māz. *aer*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (*h*)*istir*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *maṣga* 'marrow,' Phl. *maṣg*, New Pers. *mays*, Sarq. *muṣg*, Afy. *māyṣa*, Bal. *maṣg*, Oss. *mays*. Av. *vitasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišt*, *vlēšt*, *lvīšt*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špān*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srub*, *sruv*, New Pers. *sarā(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srumbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *sarr* 'stag.' Av. *puōra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puō'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pār*, Gab. *pār*, Kaš. *pūr*, *pār*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxi *pōtr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pār*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *anra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

*Assimilation of syllables.*

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivānavai*, Bihārī, Hindī *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhī *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *ānīnak* (read *ādvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

*Dissimilation of syllables.*

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Siṃh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadṛūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika*.

*Loss of syllables.*

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Siṃh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvī* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvī*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaūla*, *dēvakula*, Ur. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvilī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēul*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasā*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Ur. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, W. Hindī *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *sidhila*, *sadhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.



*ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīl*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindi *ḍhal*, Hindi *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhi *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*, *ḍhīl*, *sadhal*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaī*, Pāli *vīsaṭi*, *vīsa*, Kāsm. *vih*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindi *bīs*, Panj., Sindhi *vih*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prāk. *anurūva*, Pāli *anurūpa*, Siṃh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *sī*, Afy. *dērš*. Av. *antarə* 'within,' Old Pers. *q̄tar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. *\*duvitiyām karam* 'for the second time,' Phl. *datīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *dīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thī(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hiəu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)isāva*, Phl. *(h)uəvān*, *əuvān*, *savān*, New Pers. *sabān*, *əubān*, Gab. *iəvūn*, Waxī *sik*, Šiyn. *sav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *šiba*, Kurd. *əzmān*, Tag. Oss. *awəag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

### Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341-348, 379-394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows:

$\tilde{a} + \tilde{a} > \bar{a}$ ;  $a + \tilde{i} > \bar{a}i$ ;  $a + \tilde{u} > \bar{a}u$ ;  $\tilde{i} + \tilde{i} > \bar{i}$ ;  $i + a > \bar{e}$ ;  $\tilde{u} + \tilde{u} > \bar{u}$ ;

$u + a > \bar{o}$ , but  $\bar{a} + \bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{a} + \bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{u} + a$ ,  $\bar{u} + \bar{i}$ , and  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{o} +$  long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cām̐hār*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāim̐h*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūt̐tha*, *caūt̐t̐tha*, *cot̐tha*, Ur. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāum̐thā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pāli *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindī *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāī*. Skt. *nikāṭa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niada*, Pāli *nikāṭa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suam̐dha*, Pāli *sugandha*, Hindī, Panj. *sāum̐dhā*. Skt., Pāli *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindī *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhī *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvum̐*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pāli *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Anglo-Ind. *koīl*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Nāip. *gahūm̐*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̐*, Hindī *gō(m)hum̐*, *gēm̐hum̐*, *ghēūm̐*, Panj. *ghēūm̐*, Sindhī *gēhum̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *ṇēvak(īh)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *vīē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. \**dātabara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דַּתְבָּרָא, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.



*Epenthesis of vowels.*

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjābī and Sindhī, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khamdā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāmd*, *ṣagq*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khānā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Simh. (h)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *nhānu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāunā*, Guj., Mar. *nahān*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēmha*, Simh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli (ag)*gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *nia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Simh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śaur. Prāk. *radana*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratan*, Sindhī *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Simh. *ruwan*. Skt. *mlāyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milat*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *milanu*. Skt. *klēśa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kalēs*, Sindhī *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthā*, *thā*, Gāthā *istrī*, Ur. *tirī*, vulgar Ur. *tila*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriyā*, *istrī*, Elu *itirī*, Simh. *istrī*. Skt. *smarana* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaranu*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyün*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnaī*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *töym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šiyn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōit* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvat* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *darōy*, *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *mat-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādāfarah*.

*Final Syllables.*

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

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*Sandhi.*

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156-175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99-121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59-64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21-25) and possibly in the Pamir dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307-308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pamir group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

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(Numbers refer to §§.)

*a* = *a* 2, < *ā* 16, *i* 25, *ī* 36, *u* 44,  
*ū* 57, *r* 68, *ē* 86, *ō* 101.  
*ar* < *r* 67.  
*al* < *r* 80.  
*ā* < *a* 5, = *ā* 15, < *i* 26, *ī* 39,  
*u* 46, *ū* 60, *r* 76, *ē* 88, *aya* 341,  
*āya* 346, *āvā* 379, *āvi* 388, *uva*  
393.  
*i* < *a* 3, *ā* 17, = *i* 24, < *ī* 37,  
*u* 45, *ū* 58, *r* 71, *ē* 87, *ō* 102,  
*t* 221, *d* 247, *iya* 345, *h* 451.  
*ir* < *r* 70.  
*ī* < *a* 6, *ā* 17, *i* 28, = *ī* 35, < *u* 47,  
*ū* 61, *r* 77, *ē* 89, *āi* 97, *ō* 104, *iya*  
345, *iva* 391, *ēvā* 392.  
*u* < *a* 4, *ā* 18, *i* 27, *ī* 38, = *u* 43,  
< *ū* 59, *r* 74, *ō* 103, *āu* 110, *v* 365,  
*ava* 380.  
*ur* < *r* 73.  
*ū* < *a* 7, *ā* 18, *i* 29, *u* 48, = *ū* 56,  
< *ō* 105, *āu* 111, *v* 365, *ava* 380,  
*uva* 394.  
*r* = *r* 66.  
*ē* < *a* 8, *ā* 19, *i* 30, *ī* 40, *u* 49, *ū* 62,  
*r* 78, *ē* 85, *āi* 98, *ō* 106, *aya* 342,  
*ayō* 344, *āya* 347, *ava* 381, *avi*  
384, *āvay* 387.  
*ai* < *ē* 91, *āi* 96, *āya* 348, *āvay*  
387.  
*āi* = *āi* 95, < *ayō* 344, *avi* 385.  
*ō* < *a* 9, *ā* 20, *ī* 41, *u* 50, *ū* 63,  
*r* 79, *ē* 90, *ō* 99, *āu* 112, *ayū* 343,  
*ava* 382, *āva* 386, *ivā* 389, *ivē*  
390, *uva* 394.

*au* < *a* 10, *ō* 100, *āu* 109, *ava* 383.  
*āu* = *āu* 108.  
*k* = *k* 114, < *kh* 132, *g* 141, *gh* 149,  
*p* 288, *v* 366, *h* 445.  
*k(k)* < *kt* 461, *ky* 474, *kr* 475, *kv*  
479, *ks* 480, *rk* 508, *rk* 713, *lk*  
797, *sk* 822, *sk* 854, *sv* 900.  
*kā* < *k* 117.  
*kh* < *k* 115, = *kh* 131, < *gh* 150,  
*s* 404.  
*(k)kh* < *ks* 481, *rk* 508, *rk* 714,  
*rśn* 784, *sk* 823, *sy* 850, *sk* 855,  
*st* 860, *sth* 866, *sph* 882, *sr* 893,  
*sv* 901.  
*x* < *k* 115, *d* 248, *bh* 312, *h* 446.  
*x(x)* < *sv* 901.  
*xt* < *sk* 913.  
*xn* < *sn* 921.  
*xs* < *ks* 482, *sk* 914.  
*g* < *k* 116, = *g* 140, < *gh* 151, *t* 222,  
*d* 249, *v* 367.  
*g(g)* < *ks* 483, *gn* 498, *gy* 502, *gr*  
503, *rg* 510, *jñ* 515, *dg* 538, *dg*  
600, *dgh* 601, *rg* 717, *rg* 719,  
*lg* 798.  
*gy* < *jñ* 516.  
*gv* < *v* 369.  
*gh* < *kh* 133, *g* 142, = *gh* 148.  
*(g)gh* < *ghr* 504, *dgh* 602, *rgr* 718,  
*rg* 720.  
*γ* < *kh* 133, *g* 142, *j* 179, *v* 368,  
*ś* 440.  
*(γ)γ* < *gn* 498.  
*γd* < *kt* 462.



*ym* < *km* 472.

*γz* < *ktz* 463.

*rag* < *rak* 506, *nc* 528, *m* 321.

*ragh* < *rakh* 509, *rg* 511.

*c* < *k* 118, *kh* 134, = *c* 155, < *ch* 173, *j* 180, *t* 223, *š* 424, *h* 447.

(*c*)*c* < *kš* 484, *cy* 513, *cv* 514, *nc* 529, *ty* 564, *ts* 591, *tsy* 595, *šc* 810, *sc* 856, *šk* 908, *šy* 930.

*č* < *c* 170.

*č* < *k* 118, *c* 156, *š* 424.

(*č*)*č* < *cv* 514, *tr* 567, *šy* 930.

*ch* < *c* 157, = *ch* 172, < *š* 396, *s* 405, *s* 411.

(*c*)*ch* < *kš* 485, *ts* 592, *tsy* 596, *thy* 598, *ps* 684, *šc* 811.

*j* < *c* 158, = *j* 178, < *jh* 189, *y* 331, *r* 350, *s* 412, *š* 425, *ž* 441.

(*j*)*j* < *kš* 486, *jñ* 517, *jy* 521, *jv* 524, *nc* 530, *dy* 607, *dr* 609, *bj* 691, *rj* 722, *ry* 763, *hy* 947.

*ĵ* < *c* 159, *z* 433.

*jh* < *j* 181, = *jh* 188, < *d* 250, *s* 412.

(*j*)*jh* < *kš* 486, *jy* 522, *jv* 525, *dhy* 619, *dhr* 626, *dhv* 629, *rjh* 725, *sy* 890, *hy* 948.

*ñ* < *n* 276.

(*ñ*)*ñ* < *jñ* 518, *nc* 532, *ny* 554, *ny* 661, *sn* 838.

*ñj* < *nc* 531, *ny* 553, *ny* 660.

*ṭ* < *ch* 174, = *ṭ* 191, < *th* 200, *ḍ* 209, *ṭ* 224.

(*ṭ*)*ṭ* < *nṭ* 541, *tt* 559, *tr* 568, *nth* 641, *rt* 730, *rth* 739, *sṭ* 824, *stṛ* 828, *stḥ* 834, *sṭ* 861, *stḥ* 867.

*tṛ* < *tṛ* 569.

*tḥ* < *c* 160, *cḥ* 175, = *tḥ* 199, < *ṭ* 225, *tḥ* 238.

(*ṭ*)*tḥ* < *tṛ* 570, *ddḥ* 603, *rtḥ* 740, *sṭ* 825, *stṛ* 829, *stḥ* 835, *stỵ* 865, *stḥ* 868.

*ḍ* < *ṭ* 192, *tḥ* 201, = *ḍ* 208, < *ṭ* 226, *ḍ* 251, *dḥ* 265, *ḷ* 359, *ṣ̌* 397.

(*ḍ*)*ḍ* < *ḍg* 539, *nṭ* 542, *nḍ* 546, *ndḥ*

549, *tṛ* 571, *dṛ* 610, *pṭ* 665, *rṭ* 731, *rḍ* 743, *rdḥ* 749, *sṭ* 826, *stṛ* 830, *stḥ* 836, *stḥ* 869.

*dḥ* < *ṭ* 193, *tḥ* 202, *tḥ* 239, *dḥ* 266, *ṛ* 351.

(*ḍ*)*dḥ* < *ddḥ* 604, *dṛ* 611, *rḍ* 744, *rdḥ* 750, *rṣ̌* 777, *sṭ* 827, *stṛ* 831, *stḥ* 837.

*ṇ* < *ṇ* 277.

(*ṇ*)*ṇ* < *kšṇ* 492, *jṇ̃* 519, *nc̣* 533, *nỵ* 555, *nṿ* 557, *nỵ* 662, *rṇ* 726, *rṇ* 754, *sṇ* 839.

*nṭ* < *ntḥ* 544.

*ntṛ* < *ntṛ* 637.

*nḍ* < *nṭ* 543.

*ndṛ* < *ntṛ* 638, *ndṛ* 648.

*ndḥ* < *ntḥ* 545.

*nḥ* < *sṇ* 840, *sṇ* 874, *hṇ* 940.

*ṭ* < *ḳ* 119, *c̣* 161, *cḥ* 176, *ṭ* 194, = *ṭ* 220, < *tḥ* 240, *ḍ* 252, *dḥ* 267, *ṣ* 413.

(*ṭ*)*ṭ* < *kṭ* 464, *gdḥ* 495, *tṃ* 561, *tỵ* 565, *tṛ* 572, *tṿ* 581, *nṭ* 632, *ntḥ* 644, *ndḥ* 651, *pṭ* 666, *rḳ* 715, *rṭ* 732, *sṭ* 862, *stḥ* 870, *šṭ* 915.

*tṛ* < *rḳ* 716.

*tḥ* < *c̣* 162, *ṭ* 227, = *tḥ* 237, < *ḍ* 253.

(*ṭ*)*tḥ* < *ktḥ* 469, *nṭ* 633, *ndḥ* 652, *rtḥ* 741, *sṭ* 863, *stỵ* 865, *stḥ* 871, *šṭ* 916.

*θ̣* < *c̣* 162, *ṭ* 227, *ṣ* 414.

*ḍ* < *c̣* 163, *j̣* 182, *ḍ* 210, *ṭ* 228, = *ḍ* 246, < *dḥ* 268, *ṛ* 352, *ṣ* 415.

(*ḍ*)*ḍ* < *gdḥ* 496, *jṿ* 526, *tṿ* 582, *dỵ* 608, *dṛ* 612, *dṿ* 616, *dhỵ* 620, *dhṛ* 627, *dhṿ* 630, *nṭ* 634, *ntḥ* 645, *ndḥ* 653, *pṭ* 667, *bḍ* 694, *rṭ* 733, *rḍ* 745, *šṇ* 922.

*dṛ* < *tṛ* 573.

*dḥ* < *tḥ* 241, *ḍ* 254, = *dḥ* 264.

(*ḍ*)*dḥ* < *gdḥ* 497, *dhỵ* 621, *dhṛ* 628, *dhṿ* 631, *pṭ* 668, *bdḥ* 695, *rḍ* 746, *rdḥ* 751, *rdhṿ* 752.

*δ̣* < *ḍ* 254.



*n* < *n̄* 218, *d̄* 255, = *n* 275, < *m* 320, *r* 353, *l* 360, *v* 370.  
*(n)n* < *kn* 470, *k̄sn* 492, *gn* 499, *j̄n* 520, *ñc* 534, *d̄g* 540, *n̄d̄* 548, *n̄dh* 550, *ny* 556, *nv* 558, *nt* 636, *ndr* 650, *ndh* 655, *ny* 663, *nv* 664, *rn* 727, *rn* 755, *r̄sn* 785, *sn* 841, *sn* 875, *śn* 923, *hn* 941.  
*n̄d̄* < *n̄d̄* 547, *nt* 635, *nth* 646, *ndr* 649, *ndh* 654, *śn* 922.  
*ndh* < *nth* 647, *hn* 942.  
*(n)nh* < *ndh* 656.  
*nm* < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.  
*nv* < *sv* 902.  
*nh* < *sn* 842, *sn* 876.  
*p* < *k* 120, *t̄* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph* 296, *b* 304.  
*p(p)* < *km* 473, *tp* 560, *tm* 563, *tv* 583, *pn* 675, *py* 679, *pr* 680, *mp* 702, *rp* 758, *rv* 767, *lp* 799, *sp* 844, *sp* 877.  
*pt* < *tm* 562.  
*ps* < *fs* 690.  
*ph* < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.  
*(p)ph* < *sp* 845, *sp* 878, *sph* 883, *sv* 903.  
*f* < *p* 289, *bh* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371, *h* 448.  
*f(f)* < *tv* 584, *pn* 676, *sv* 903.  
*ft* < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.  
*fth* < *pt* 670.  
*fr* < *tr* 574.  
*b* < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303, < *bh* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.  
*b(b)* < *jv* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671, *bj* 693, *br* 696, *bhr* 698, *mb* 704, *rb* 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.  
*b̄d̄* < *bj* 692.  
*b̄s* < *ps* 685.  
*bh* < *k* 121, *d̄h* 269, *ph* 298, *b* 305, = *bh* 311, < *y* 333, *v* 373, *h* 449.  
*(b)bh* < *bhy* 697, *bhr* 699, *rdhv* 753, *rbh* 760, *rv* 769, *sm* 847, *hv* 949.

*m* < *n* 279, *p* 291, *b* 306, *bh* 315, = *m* 319, < *v* 374.  
*m(m)* < *km* 471, *gm* 501, *dm* 605, *nm* 659, *pn* 677, *pny* 678, *mn* 701, *mb* 705, *mbh* 706, *mr* 710, *mv* 711, *rm* 761, *lm* 801, *śm* 814, *sm* 848, *śm* 925, *hm* 944.  
*mb* < *mp* 703, *mr* 709, *lm* 800, *hm* 945.  
*mbh* < *hm* 946.  
*mv* < *m* 327.  
*mh* < *bh* 316, *mbh* 707, *sm* 849, *sm* 884.  
*ms* < *ps* 686.  
*y* < *ē* 92, *k̄* 122, *kh* 137, *g* 143, *c* 164, *j* 183, *t̄* 229, *th* 242, *d̄* 256, *d̄h* 270, *p* 292, *b* 307, = *y* 330, < *v* 375, *ś* 398, *s* 406, *h* 451.  
*y(y)* < *d̄hy* 622.  
*yah* < *ā* 64.  
*r* < *r̄* 81, *t̄* 196, *d̄* 211, *d̄h* 215, *t* 230, *d̄* 257, *n* 280, *y* 334, = *r* 349, < *l* 361.  
*r(r)* < *kr* 476, *ghr* 505, *tr* 575, *ntr* 639, *pt* 672, *pr* 681, *rn* 728, *rt* 735, *rd* 747, *rn* 756, *rm* 762, *ry* 764, *rv* 771, *rs* 778, *r̄sn* 786, *rh* 795.  
*ra* < *r̄* 69.  
*ri* < *r̄* 72.  
*ru* < *r̄* 75.  
*rj* < *ry* 765.  
*rth* < *rt* 729.  
*rd* < *rt* 734.  
*rbh* < *rv* 770.  
*rs* < *r̄sn* 787.  
*rs* < *rj* 723, *r̄ś* 779, *r̄sn* 788.  
*rh* < *th* 203.  
*r̄* < *d̄* 211.  
*rh* < *th* 203, *d̄h* 214.  
*l̄* < *t̄* 197, *th* 204, *d̄* 212, *d̄h* 216, *n* 219, *t̄* 231, *th* 248, *d̄* 258, *d̄h* 271, *n* 281, *y* 335, *r* 354, = *l̄* 358, < *ś* 426.  
*l(b)* < *kl* 478, *tr* 576, *tv* 586, *dr* 613,

*dhy* 623, *ntr* 640, *rt* 736, *rd* 748,  
*rn* 757, *ry* 766, *rz* 794, *rh* 796, *ly*  
803, *lv* 806, *št* 917.

*lx* < *ktr* 467.

*ld* < *rt* 737.

*ls* < *sr* 894.

*lh* < *th* 205, *dh* 216.

*(l)lh* < *ly* 804.

*l* < *t* 198, *d* 213, *dh* 217, *n* 219, *th*  
244, *d* 259, *n* 282, *r* 355, *l* 362.

*l(l)* < *str* 832.

*lh* < *dh* 217.

*v* < *k* 123, *kh* 138, *g* 144, *j* 184,  
*t* 232, *d* 260, *dh* 272, *n* 283, *p* 293,  
*ph* 299, *b* 308, *bh* 317, *m* 324,  
*y* 336, = *v* 364, < *ś* 399, *s* 416,  
*h* 450.

*v(v)* < *tv* 587, *dv* 618, *pt* 673, *rv* 772,  
*vy* 808, *vr* 809, *sv* 904, *śm* 926,  
*hv* 950.

*va* < *ū* 65, *ō* 107.

*vd* < *pt* 674.

*vr* < *bhr* 700.

*vs* < *ps* 687.

*ś* = *ś* 395, < *ṣ* 407, *s* 417.

*ś(ś)* < *rṣ* 780, *śr* 818.

*śc* < *cch* 512.

*sch* < *cch* 512.

*ṣ* = *ṣ* 403, *s* 418.

*ṣ(ṣ)* < *rṣ* 781, *ṣy* 851.

*s* < *kh* 135, *c* 165, *ch* 177, *t* 233,  
*m* 325, *ś* 400, *ṣ* 408, = *s* 410, <  
*ś* 427, *z* 434, *h* 452.

*s(s)* < *kṣ* 487, *ñc* 535, *ty* 566, *tr* 577,  
*ts* 594, *tsy* 597, *thy* 599, *ps* 688,  
*rś* 774, *rśv* 775, *rṣ* 782, *śc* 812,  
*śm* 815, *śr* 819, *śl* 820, *śv* 821,  
*ṣy* 852, *sc* 859, *st* 864, *sp* 879, *sm*  
885, *sy* 891, *sr* 895, *sv* 905, *śk* 909,  
*št* 918.

*sk* < *śk* 910.

*st* < *sth* 872.

*str* < *pstr* 689.

*sp* < *tv* 588.

*sf* < *sp* 880.

*sb* < *sp* 881, *sm* 886.

*sm* < *śm* 927.

*sr* < *dr* 614.

*sl* < *sr* 896.

*ś* < *k* 124, *c* 166, *s* 419, = *ś* 423,  
< *z* 435, *ž* 435, 442, *h* 453.

*ś(ś)* < *kṣ* 488, *tr* 578, *ts* 593, *pś* 683,  
*rś* 781, *rśn* 789, *sc* 857, *sth* 873,  
*sy* 892, *sr* 897, *śk* 911, *śm* 928,  
*śy* 931.

*śk* < *sc* 858, *št* 919.

*śc* < *śk* 912.

*št* < *sty* 920.

*śn* < *kṣn* 493, *rśn* 790.

*śv* < *rśv* 792.

*z* < *k* 126, *c* 167, *j* 185, *jh* 190,  
*s* 420, *ś* 428, = *z* 432, < *ž* 443,  
*h* 454.

*z(z)* < *kṣ* 490, *jy* 523, *dhy* 624, *sm*  
887, *śn* 924, *zd* 934, *žd* 938.

*zy* < *ktz* 463.

*zd* < *žd* 939.

*zm* < *sm* 888, *zv* 936.

*ž* < *k* 126, *g* 145, *c* 168, *j* 186, *ś* 429,  
*z* 436, = *ž* 439, < *h* 454.

*ž(ž)* < *jy* 523, *rj* 724, *rśn* 791, *śy*  
932.

*žg* < *zg* 933.

*žb* < *zb* 937.

*žm* < *sm* 889, *śm* 929.

*h* < *k* 125, *kh* 136, *g* 146, *gh* 152,  
*c* 169, *th* 206, *t* 234, *th* 245, *d* 261,  
*dh* 273, *ph* 300, *bh* 318, *y* 337,  
*ś* 401, *ṣ* 409, *ś* 421, *ś* 430, *z* 437,  
= *h* 444.

*h(h)* < *kṣ* 489, *ñc* 536, *tv* 589, *dhy*  
625, *rgḥ* 721, *rśv* 776, *rṣ* 783, *str*  
833, *ṣn* 843, *sp* 846, *sy* 853, *sr*  
898, *sv* 906, *hn* 943, *hv* 951.

*ht* < *kt* 466.

*hn* < *kṣn* 494.

*hm* < *mbh* 708.

*hr* < *ktr* 468, *kr* 477, *tr* 579, *dr*  
615.

*hr* < *th* 207.

<i>hl</i> < <i>pr</i> 682, <i>rt</i> 738, <i>rth</i> 742, <i>rs</i> 793.	<i>m̃dh</i> < <i>nth</i> 643.
<i>m̃</i> < <i>m</i> 326.	<i>m̃d</i> < <i>ñj</i> 537.
<i>m̃gh</i> < <i>rk̃h</i> 509.	<i>m̃r</i> < <i>ñdh</i> 551.
<i>m̃j(j)</i> < <i>ndhy</i> 657, <i>śr</i> 816.	<i>m̃v</i> < <i>lm̃</i> 802.
<i>m̃(j)jh</i> < <i>ndhy</i> 658, <i>śr</i> 817.	<i>m̃s</i> < <i>rś</i> 773.
<i>m̃th</i> < <i>nth</i> 642.	<i>m̃z</i> < <i>śn</i> 924.
	<i>m̃h</i> < <i>ñdh</i> 552, <i>m̃gh</i> 712.

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## B. Iranian.

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## C. Greek.

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## D. Latin.

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## E. Old High German.

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<i>kiuwan</i> 521.	F. Anglo-Saxon.	H. Lithuanian.
<i>leckôn</i> 358.	<i>lippa</i> 358.	<i>lēsiù</i> 358.
<i>stâra</i> 862.	G. Old Bulgarian.	<i>vapsà</i> 329, 685, 686.
<i>wafsa</i> 685.	<i>šivati</i> 521.	

## CORRIGENDA

- § 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12-13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.  
 § 4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.  
 § 4, l. 14 for *karkatika* read *karkatikā*.  
 § 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.  
 § 5, l. 46 for *pašcaṭ* read *pascat*.  
 § 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.  
 § 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *prḍaku* read *prḍāku*.  
 § 71, l. 8 for *mṛḍanaka* read *mṛḍānaka*.  
 § 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣavādin* read *mṛṣāvādin*.  
 § 82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mṛttikā*.  
 § 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue'.  
 § 91, l. 2 for *xvaēda* read *xvaēdā*.  
 § 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.  
 § 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkhā*.  
 § 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.  
 § 184, l. 5 for *rājānah* read *rājānāh*.  
 § 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hr̥*.  
 § 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsā*.  
 § 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā*.  
 § 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvālaya*.  
 § 342, l. 11-12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*.  
 § 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaspa* read *vāspa*.  
 § 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.  
 § 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śrṣa*, *śrṣa* read *śrṣā*.  
 § 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement'.  
 § 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *šavaiti* read *šavaite*.  
 § 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.  
 § 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jyā*.  
 § 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.  
 § 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.  
 § 486, l. 4 for *kṣtyate* read *kṣtyatē*.  
 § 495, l. 5 for *dōgdhum* read *dōgdhūm*.  
 § 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.  
 § 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.  
 Read throughout *Āvanti*, *Waxi* for *Avantikā*, *Waxi*.